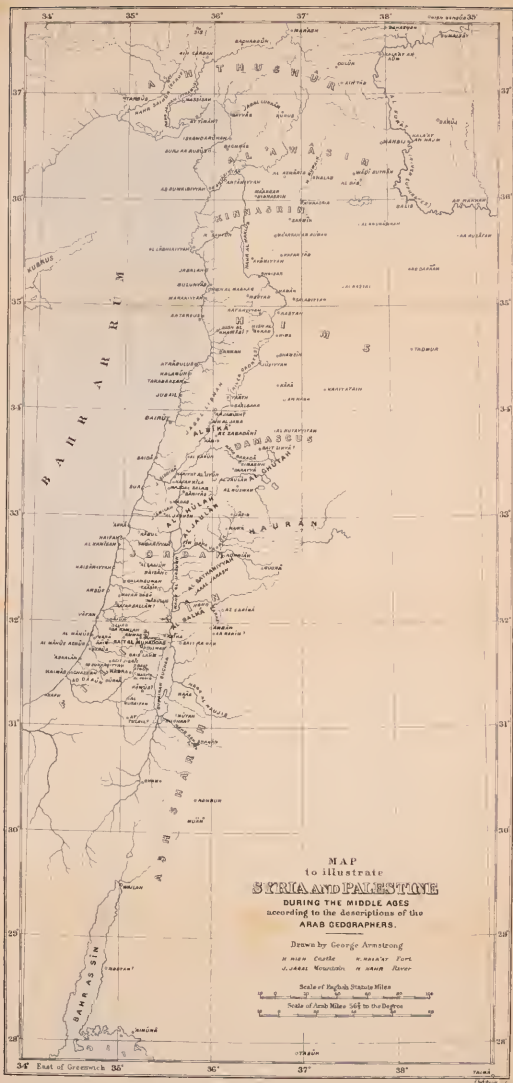


DOME OF THE ROCK
 NORTH ELEVATION
 (from de Vogüé)

DOME OF THE CHAIN



Scale 0 100 200 300 400 Miles
0 100 200 300 400 Kilometers

A S S A H I R A H
(The Plain)

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND



CHAPTER III.

JERUSALEM.

Names of the Holy City—Advantages of Jerusalem—Fertility—Position—Territory of the Holy City.

The Mosque al Aksâ: The Prophet's Night Journey—The origin of the Mosque al Aksâ—'Omar's early building and that of 'Abd al Malik—Earthquake of the year 130 (746), and restoration of the mosque by Al Mansûr and Al Mahdi—The technical meaning of the term *Masjid*, or Mosque—Mukaddasi's description of the Aksâ in 985—The Talisman and the Maksûrahs—Earthquakes of 1016 and 1034—Inscriptions relating to repairs—Description of the Aksâ by Nâsir-i-Khusrau in 1047—Dimensions of the mosque—The Crusades—The mosque given over to the Templars—Description by Idrisi and Ali of Herat—Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem and restoration of the Aksâ in 1187—Description by Mujir ad Din in 1496—Modern mosque.

The Dome of the Rock: The Rock—The dome built over it by 'Abd al Malik in 691—Mr. Fergusson's theory disproved—'Abd al Malik's great inscription—Al Mâmûn's inscription on the doors—Description of the Dome by Ibn al Fakîh in 903—Arrangement of the piers and pillars—Istakhri and Ibn Haukal's description—That of Mukaddasi, 985—The earthquake of 1016 and the inscriptions recording repairs—Nâsir-i-Khusrau's visit in 1047—The fall of the great lantern in 1060—The Crusaders and the Templum Domini—Temple-churches and Rafael's picture of the *Sposalizio*—Idrisi's account in 1154—'Ali of Herat's in 1173—The iron railing round the Rock, and other details—Pieces of the Rock taken by the Crusaders as relics—Saladin's restoration—His great inscription in the Dome—Ibn Batûtah's visit in 1355—Destruction of the Cupola by fire in 1448—Suyûti's description of the Footprint of the Prophet, the Cave, and other marvels—Mujir ad Din's measurements.

JERUSALEM is known to the Muslims by the names of *Bait al Mukaddas* or *Bait al Makdis*, signifying "The Holy House"; or else simply as *Al Kuds*, "The Holy"; the latter being the more common name at the present day. The ancient Hebrew name, "Yerushalaim," was, however, well known to the Arabs, though not used, and Yâkût mentions the forms *Urîshallum*, *Urîshalum*, also *Shallam*, as the various names of the Holy City in the days of the Jews. (Yak., i. 402; iii. 315; iv. 590.)

The Emperor Hadrian, after removing all the Jews from Jerusalem (A.D. 130), gave the town the name of *Ælia Capitolina* the first part of this name was preserved in the Arabic as *Iliyâ*, a name which, having no signification for the Arabs, gave rise to numerous legends. Yâkût writes :

“It is reported on the authority of Ka’ab that the Holy City was called *Iliyâ* because *Iliyâ* was the name of a woman who built the city.” (Yak., iv. 592.) Further, *Iliyâ* is said to mean Bait Allah (the House of God). And, again, *Iliyâ* is said to have been so called “after the name of its builder, who was *Iliyâ*, son of Aram, son of Sam (Shem), son of Nûh (Noah), and he was the brother of Dimishk (Damascus), Hims (Emessa), Urdunn (Jordan), and Filastin (Palestine).” (Yak., i. 423, 424.)

Jerusalem also was occasionally referred to in poetry as *Al Balât*, meaning “the court,” or “royal residence,” a word the Arabs had borrowed from the Latin *palatium*.

Politically, Jerusalem was never the Muslim capital of the province (Jund) of Palestine, this being at Ar Ramlah. But the Holy City, containing within its precincts The Further Mosque, The Rock, and other Holy Places, was only held second in point of sanctity to the twin Holy Cities of the Hijjâz, Makkah, and Al Madînah, in the eyes of all true believers ; and Jerusalem, further, was to be the scene of the great gathering on the Last Judgment Day. Even in the days of its splendour, when Ar Ramlah was the capital of the south province, as Damascus was of the north, Istakhri and Ibn Haukal (tenth century) write : “The Holy City is nearly as large as Ar Ramlah. It is a city perched high on the hills : and you have to go up to it from all sides. In all Jerusalem there is no running water, excepting what comes from springs, that can be used to irrigate the fields, and yet it is the most fertile portion of Filastîn.” (Is., 56 ; I.H., III.)

Mukaddasi (A.D. 985), as his name implies, himself a native of the Holy City, is loud in praises of the manifold advantages of Jerusalem. He writes :

“The Holy City, Bait-al-Makdis, is also known as *Iliyâ* and *Al Balât*. Among provincial towns none is larger than Jerusalem, and many capitals are, in fact, smaller. Neither the cold nor the heat is excessive here, and snow falls but rarely. The Kâdi Abu-l-

Kâsim, son of the Kâdi of the two Holy Cities of Makkah and Al Madinah, inquired of me once concerning the climate of Jerusalem. I answered : 'It is betwixt and between—neither very hot nor very cold.' Said he in reply : 'Just as is that of Paradise.' The buildings of the Holy City are of stone, and you will find nowhere finer or more solid construction. In no place will you meet with people more chaste. Provisions are most excellent here ; the markets are clean, the Mosque is of the largest, and nowhere are Holy Places more numerous. The grapes are enormous, and there are no quinces to equal those of the Holy City. In Jerusalem are all manner of learned men and doctors, and for this reason the heart of every man of intelligence yearns towards her. All the year round, never are her streets empty of strangers. As to the saying that Jerusalem is the most illustrious of cities—is she not the one that unites the advantages of This World and those of the Next ? He who is of the sons of This World, and yet is ardent in the matters of the Next, may find there a market for his wares ; while he who would be of the men of the Next World, though his soul clings to the good things of This, he, too, may find them here ! Further, Jerusalem is the pleasantest of places in the matter of climate, for the cold there does not injure, and the heat is not noxious. And as to her being the finest city, why, has any seen elsewhere buildings finer or cleaner, or a Mosque that is more beautiful ? And as for the Holy City being the most productive of all places in good things, why, Allah—may He be exalted !—has gathered together here all the fruits of the lowlands, and of the plains, and of the hill country, even all those of the most opposite kinds : such as the orange and the almond, the date and the nut, the fig and the banana, besides milk in plenty, and honey and sugar. And as to the excellence of the City ! why, is not this to be the place of marshalling on the Day of Judgment : where the gathering together and the appointment will take place ? Verily Makkah and Al Madinah have their superiority by reason of the Ka'abah and the Prophet—the blessing of Allah be upon him and his family !—but, in truth, on the Day of Judgment both cities will come to Jerusalem, and the excellencies of them all will then be united. And as to Jerusalem being the most spacious

of cities ; why, since all created things are to assemble there, what place on the earth can be more extensive than this ?

“ Still, Jerusalem has some disadvantages. Thus it is reported, as found written in the Torah (or Books) of Moses, that ‘ Jerusalem is as a golden basin filled with scorpions.’ Then you will not find anywhere baths more filthy than those of the Holy City ; nor anywhere the fees for the same heavier. Learned men are few, and the Christians numerous, and the same are unmannerly in the public places. In the hostelrys the taxes are heavy on all that is sold ; there are guards at every gate, and no one is allowed to sell of the necessities of life except in the appointed places. In this city the oppressed have no succour ; the meek are molested, and the rich envied. Jurisconsults remain unvisited, and erudite men have no renown ; also the schools are unattended, for there are no lectures. Everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand : and the mosque is void of either congregation or assembly of learned men.” (Muk., 166, 167. The translation is somewhat condensed.)

That the Christians and Jews had the upper hand in Jerusalem in the century preceding the first Crusade is certainly a curious and noteworthy fact. In his introductory chapter Mukaddasi states that “ in Jerusalem no one can find either defect or deficiency. Wine is not publicly consumed, and there is no drunkenness. The city is devoid of houses of ill-fame, whether public or private. The people, too, are noted for piety and sincerity. At one time, when it became known that the Governor drank wine, they built up round his house a wall, and thus prevented from getting to him those who were invited to his banquets.” (Muk., 7.)

Mukaddasi further continues :

“ The territory of the Holy City is counted as all the country that lies within a radius of forty miles from Jerusalem, and includes many villages. For twelve miles the frontier follows the shore (of the Dead Sea) over against Sughar and Maâb ; then for five miles it lies through the desert, and is in the district towards the south, even unto the country that lies beyond Al Kusaifah and the land that is over against it. And on the north the frontier reaches to the limits of Nâbulus. This, then, is the land which

Allah—may He be exalted !—has called blessed (Kurân, xxi. 71) ; it is a country where, on the hills are trees, and in the plains fields that need neither irrigation nor the watering of rivers, even as the two men (Caleb and Joshua) reported to Moses, the son of 'Amrân, saying : ' We came on a land flowing with milk and honey.' I myself at times in Jerusalem have seen cheese selling at a sixth of a Dirham for the Ratl, and sugar at a Dirham the Ratl ; and for that same sum you could obtain either a Ratl and a half of olive-oil, or four Ratls of raisins." (Muk., 173.)

Taking the Dirham at tenpence, and the Syrian Ratl at 6 lbs., we have cheese at about a farthing a pound, sugar at a penny three farthings a pound, olive-oil at about a shilling the gallon, and raisins at the rate of 2½ lb. for a penny. The great natural fertility of all the country round Jerusalem is constantly referred to by the Arab writers. Mukaddasi notes that "in Palestine, during the summer-time, every night, when the south wind is blowing, dew falls, and in such quantities that the gutters of the Aksâ Mosque are set to run." (Muk., 186.)*

The position of Jerusalem crowning a hill-spur, and surrounded on three sides by deep gorges, seems to have struck alike both Eastern and Western pilgrims. The Arabs were accustomed to build their great cities in the valleys, or else in the plain-country, for the sake of the streams. The Persian traveller Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who reached Jerusalem on March 5, 1047, approached the Holy City by the northern road. He writes :

"After we had continued our upward road some way from Kariyat-al-'Anab, a great plain opened out in front of us, part of which was stony, and part of it good soil ; and here, as it were, on the summit of the mountain, lay before our view Bait-al-Mukaddas (the Holy City). Now, the men of Syria, and of the

* The following passage from *The Holy Land and the Bible*, by Cunningham Geikie, D.D., may illustrate the exactness of Mukaddasi's observations : "In Palestine," Dr. Geikie writes, "the bright skies cause the heat of the day to radiate very quickly into space, so that the nights are as cold as the day is the reverse. To this coldness of the night-air, the indispensable watering of all plant-life is due. The winds, loaded with moisture, are robbed of it as they pass over the land, the cold air condensing it into drops of water, which fall in a gracious rain of mist on every thirsty blade."

neighbouring parts, call the Holy City by the name of Kuds (the Holy); and the people of these provinces, if they are unable to make the pilgrimage (to Makkah), will go up at the appointed season to Jerusalem, and there perform their rites, and upon the feast-day slay the sacrifice, as is customary to do (at Makkah) on the same day. There are years when as many as twenty thousand people will be present at Jerusalem during the first days of the (pilgrimage) month of Dhû-l Hijjah; for they bring their children also with them, in order to celebrate their circumcision. From all the countries of the Greeks, too, and from other lands, the Christians and the Jews come up to Jerusalem in great numbers, in order to make their visitation of the Church (of the Resurrection) and the synagogue that is there; and this great Church (of the Resurrection) at Jerusalem we shall describe further on in its proper place. (See Chapter V.)

"The lands and villages round the Holy City are situate upon the hillsides; the land is well cultivated, and they grow corn, olives, and figs; there are also many kinds of trees here. In all the country round there is no (spring) water for irrigation, and yet the produce is very abundant, and the prices are moderate. Many of the chief men harvest as much as 50,000 Manns weight (or about 16,800 gallons) of olive-oil. This is kept in tanks and cisterns, and they export thereof to other countries. It is said that drought never visits the soil of Syria. Jerusalem is a city set on a hill, and there is no water therein, except what falls in rain. The villages round have springs of water, but the Holy City has no springs. The city is enclosed by strong walls of stone, mortared, and there are iron gates. Round about the city there are no trees, for it is all built on the rock. Jerusalem is a very great city, and at the time of my visit it contained a population of some twenty thousand men. It has high, well built, and clean bazaars. All the streets are paved with slabs of stone; and wheresoever there was a hill or a height, they have cut it down and made it level, so that as soon as the rain falls (the water runs off), and the whole place is washed clean. There are in the city numerous artificers, and each craft has a separate bazaar." (N. Kh., 23, 24.)

THE AKSÂ MOSQUE.

The great mosque of Jerusalem, *Al Masjid al Aksâ*, the "Further Mosque," derives its name from the traditional Night Journey of Muhammad, to which allusion is made in the words of the *Kurân* (xvii. 1): "I declare the glory of Him who transported His servant by night from the *Masjid al Haram* (the Mosque at Makkah) to the *Masjid al Aksâ* (the Further Mosque) at Jerusalem"—the term "Mosque" being here taken to denote the whole area of the Noble Sanctuary, and not the Main-building of the *Aksâ* only, which, in the Prophet's days, did not exist.

According to the received account, Muhammad was on this occasion mounted on the winged steed called *Al Burâk*—"the Lightning"—and, with the angel Gabriel for escort, was carried from Makkah, first to Sinai, and then to Bethlehem, after which they came to Jerusalem. "And when we reached *Bait al Makdis*, the Holy City," so runs the tradition, "we came to the gate of the mosque (which is the *Haram Area*), and here *Jibrail* caused me to dismount. And he tied up *Al Burâk* to a ring, to which the prophets of old had also tied their steeds." (*Ibn al Athir's Chronicle*, ii. 37.) Entering the *Haram Area* by the gateway, afterwards known as the Gate of the Prophet, Muhammad and Gabriel went up to the Sacred Rock, which of old times had stood in the centre of Solomon's Temple; and in its neighbourhood meeting the company of the prophets, Muhammad proceeded to perform his prayer-prostrations in the assembly of his predecessors in the prophetic office—Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and others of God's ancient apostles. From the Sacred Rock Muhammad, accompanied by Gabriel, next ascended, by a ladder of light, up into heaven; and, in anticipation, was vouchsafed the sight of the delights of Paradise. Passing through the seven heavens, Muhammad ultimately stood in the presence of Allah, from whom he received injunctions as to the prayers his followers were to perform. Thence, after a while, he descended again to earth; and, alighting at the foot of the ladder of light, stood again on the Sacred Rock at Jerusalem. The return journey homeward was made after the same fashion—on the back of the

steed Al Burák—and the Prophet reached Makkah again before the night had waned.* Such, in outline, is the tradition of the Prophet's Night Journey, which especially sanctifies the Rock and the Haram Area in the sight of all true believers.

After the capitulation of Jerusalem to 'Omar in 635 (A.H. 14), that Khalif caused a mosque to be built on what was considered to be the ancient site of the Temple (or Masjid) of David. The traditional position of this site, 'Omar (as it is stated) verified, by the re-discovery of the Rock—concealed under a dung-hill—from the description that had been given to him, 'Omar, by the Prophet, of the place where he had made his prayer-prostrations in Jerusalem on the occasion of his Night-Journey.

The traditional accounts of 'Omar's discovery of the Rock will be given later on. It should, however, be here noted that none of the earlier Arab annalists (such as Bilâdhuri, or Tabari) record any details of the building, by 'Omar, of the Aksâ Mosque. In the early days of Islam—namely, under 'Omar and his successors, down to the settlement of the Khalifate, in the family of the Omayyads, at Damascus—mosques were, without doubt, constructed of wood and sun-dried bricks, and other such perishable materials. Hence, of the buildings erected in 'Omar's days, probably but little remained, half a century later, to be incorporated in the magnificent stone mosque erected by the orders of the Omayyad Khalif, 'Abd al Malik, about the year 690 (A.H. 72). It seems probable, also, that this latter Khalif, when he began to rebuild the Aksâ, made use of the materials which lay to hand in the ruins of the great St. Mary Church of Justinian, which must originally have stood on the site, approximately, on which the Aksâ Mosque was afterwards raised. Possibly, in the substructures still to be seen at the south-east corner of the Aksâ, we have the remains of Justinian's church, described by Procopius† as erected

* Further details of the traditional account of this celebrated Night Journey may be read in chapter xii. of Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet*. In the commentaries on the Kurân, the account found in the Ibn al Athir and the other chroniclers is considerably amplified.

† See Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, *Procopius*, p. 138. The subject is ably discussed in Professor Hayter-Lewis' recent work, *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, chapter iv., where all the authorities are cited.

in 560 A.D., and burnt down in 614 by Chosroes II. during the great Persian raid through Syria, which laid most of the Christian buildings of the Holy Land in ruins. Perhaps also the remarkable silence of all the Arab writers in regard to the date of 'Abd al Malik's rebuilding of the Aksâ may be taken as an indirect proof that that Khalif did not erect the edifice from its foundations, but that he made use of the remains of the St. Mary Church (where 'Omar had raised his primitive mosque), incorporating these into the new Aksâ, which thus rose on the ruins of the Christian edifice.

However this may be, the Chronicles make no mention of the date or fact of 'Abd al Malik's rebuilding of the Aksâ Mosque, and the earliest detailed description of the same is that given by Mukaddasi in 985, some three centuries after 'Abd al Malik's days. Of the Dome of the Rock, on the other hand, we possess detailed accounts in the older authorities, describing both the foundation in A.H. 72 (691), and the general appearance the Dome presented as early as the third century of the Hijrah. It would appear as though the Arab chroniclers and the travellers who visited the Haram Area at this period were more impressed by the magnificence of the Dome of the Rock than by the Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque, of which the Dome of the Rock, in fact, was but an adjunct. Previous to Mukaddasi's account, what we know of the history of the Aksâ Mosque may be summarized as follows: According to tradition, in or about the year 635 (A.H. 14), 'Omar erected a mosque (probably of wood) at Jerusalem.* Presumably about the year 691 (A.H. 72), the

* In so far as I have been able to discover, the earliest mention of 'Omar's building a mosque in Jerusalem is the account found in the Chronicle of the Byzantine historian Theophanes. The following is a translation from the Greek which will be found on p. 524, vol. i., of the *Chronographia* (Bonn, 1839): "Anno Mundi 6135, Anno Domini 635. In this year Omar began to restore the Temple at Jerusalem, for the building, in truth, no longer then stood firmly founded, but had fallen to ruin. Now when Omar inquired the cause, the Jews answered saying: 'Unless thou throw down the Cross, which stands on the Mount of Olives, the building of the Temple will never be firmly founded.' Thereupon Omar threw down the Cross at that place, in order that the building (of the Temple) might be made firm; and for the same cause innumerable crosses in other quarters these enemies of Christ did likewise

Omayyad Khalif 'Abd al Malik rebuilt the Aksâ Mosque (*vide* Mukaddasi and Suyûti). In 746 (A.H. 130), an earthquake is said to have thrown down the greater part of the Aksâ. Of this earthquake, and the damage caused by it, the earliest detailed account I have been able to find is that (see below) given by the author of the Muthîr, who is, however, a late authority, namely, A.D. 1351. The early Chronicles of Tabari and of Ibn al Athîr make no mention of this earthquake of A.D. 746, though Mukaddasi (985) alludes in general terms to the earthquake which had thrown down the Aksâ in the days of the Abbasides. If the date of the earthquake, A.H. 130 (746), be correct, it should be noted in passing that this was two years before the overthrow of the Damascus Khalifate; since it was only in A.H. 132 that As Saffâh conquered his Omayyad rival, and founded the dynasty of the Abbasides, who shortly after this transferred their seat of government from Damascus in Syria to Baghdad on the Tigris.

The account referred to above, as given by the author of the Muthîr, of the earthquakes is as follows:*

“On the authority of 'Abd ar Rahmân ibn Muhammad ibn Mansûr ibn Thâbit, from his father, who had it from his father and grandfather. In the days of 'Abd al Malik, all the gates of the mosque were covered with plates of gold and of silver. But in the reign of the Khalif Al Mansûr, both the eastern and the western portions of the mosque had fallen down. Then it was reported to the Khalif, saying, ‘O commander of the faithful, verily the earthquake in the year 130 (A.D. 746) did throw down the eastern part of the mosque and the western part also; now, therefore, do thou give orders to rebuild the same and raise it again.’ And the

overthrow.” Theophanes was born in 751, and wrote his Chronicle towards the close of the eighth century A.D. (he died in 818 A.D., 203 A.H.), and he is therefore prior by more than half a century to the earliest Arab authorities. His youth is separated by considerably under a century and a half from the date of Omar's conquest of Jerusalem.

* The Arabic text of this passage, collated from several MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is printed in my paper in the J. R. A. S., new series, xix., p. 304. The passage is copied verbatim by Suyûti (in 1470), and again by Mujir ad Din (in 1496); see p. 250 of the Cairo text of the latter author.

Khalif replied that as there were no moneys in his treasury, (to supply the lack of coin) they should strip off the plates of gold and of silver that overlaid the gates. So they stripped these off and coined therefrom Dinârs and Dirhams, which moneys were expended on the rebuilding of the mosque until it was completed. Then occurred a second earthquake, and the building that Al Mansûr had commanded to be built fell to the ground. In the days of the Khalif Al Mahdi, who succeeded him, the mosque was still lying in ruins, which, being reported to him, he commanded them to rebuild the same. And the Khalif said that the mosque had been (of old) too narrow, and of too great length—and (for this reason) it had not been much used by the people—so now (in rebuilding it) they should curtail the length and increase the breadth. Now the restoration of the mosque was completed on the new plan during the days of his Khalifate.”

From this account we learn that in A.H. 130 the Aksâ was thrown down by earthquake and rebuilt by the Khalif Al Mansûr. This restoration by Al Mansûr probably took place about the year A.H. 154 (771), for in that year the Chronicles of Tabari and of Ibn al Athîr inform us that Al Mansûr visited Jerusalem, and prayed in the mosque.* The Chronicles, however, be it noted, make no mention of Al Mansûr's restoration of the building: this we only read in the account given by the author of the Muthîr. According to this latter author a second earthquake (of which, however, apparently no mention is made in any of the Chronicles) laid Al Mansûr's building in ruins; and afterwards the Khalif Al Mahdi, his successor, rebuilt the Aksâ a second time, making it on this occasion broader and shorter. Of Al Mahdi's restoration, as in the former case, no mention is found in the Chronicles. If, however, the authority of the Muthîr is to be accepted for the fact, we should place this second restoration in or about the year 780 (A.H. 163), for in that year, according to Tabari,† the Khalif Al Mahdi went to Jerusalem and made his prayers in the Aksâ Mosque, and he would then doubtless have had the ruined condition of the building brought under his notice.

* Tabari, Series III., p. 372; Ibn al Athîr, vol. v., p. 467.

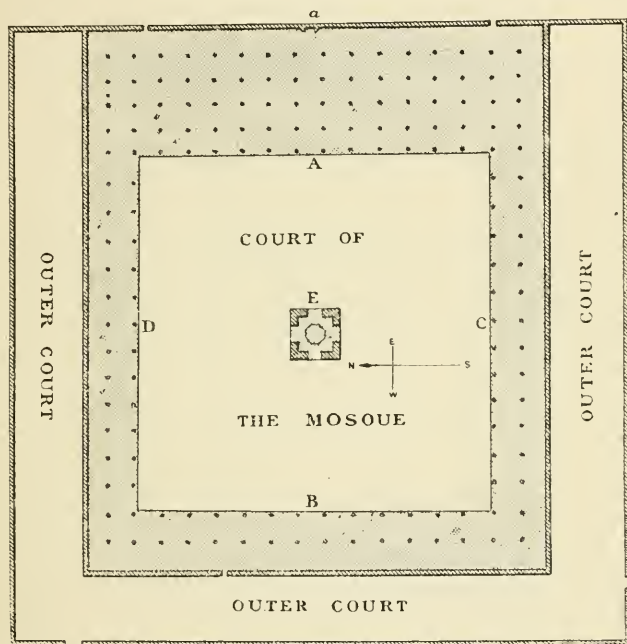
† Tabari, Series III., p. 500.

From about the year A.D. 780, when the Aksâ was restored in Al Mahdi's reign, down to 985 when Mukaddasi describes it, as far as is known from the historians, no accident befell the mosque. Shortly before this, however, "a colonnade supported on marble pillars," as we learn from Mukaddasi, had been erected by the celebrated 'Abd Allah ibn Tâhir, for many years independent Governor of Khurasân and the East. Of the appearance of the Aksâ previous to Mukaddasi's date, the early geographers tell us next to nothing. What little is noted by them will be given on a subsequent page, where the accounts are translated *in extenso*.

Before, however, these passages are laid before the reader, and in order that he may rightly understand the descriptions which the early Muslim writers have left of the Noble Sanctuary, with the buildings of the Aksâ and the Dome of the Rock, it will be necessary to enter into some explanations of the Arab and technical usage of the word "mosque." The main characteristics of the primitive Arab mosque are well exemplified in the accompanying plan representing the Jâmi' of Ibn Tûlûn. This is the oldest mosque in Cairo, having been erected by Ahmad ibn Tûlûn about the year 879 (265 A.H.)

As here seen in its simplest form, the mosque primarily consisted of an open courtyard, within which, and round its four walls, ran colonnades or cloisters, to give shelter to the worshippers. On the side of the court towards the Kiblah (in the direction of Makkah), and facing which the worshipper must stand and kneel during prayers, the colonnade, instead of being single, is, for the convenience of the increased numbers of the congregation, widened out to form the Jâmi', or "place of assembly." In the case of Ibn Tûlûn's Mosque, five rows of columns, with the boundary-wall, form the five transverse aisles (*A* to *a*). In the centre of the boundary-wall on the Makkah side is set the great Mihrâb of the mosque (*a*), indicating the direction of the Kiblah. Now in all descriptions of a mosque it is taken for granted that the visitor is standing in the Court (*as Sahn*) of the mosque, and facing the Kiblah. Fronting him therefore is the Main-building, called the "covered-part" (*al Mughattâ*), or the "fore-part" (*al Mukaddamah*) of the mosque (*A* to *a*); while in his rear is the colonnade (*B*),

single or double, against the wall of the courtyard, furthest from the Makkah-side, and this is called the "back" of the mosque (*al Muakhkharah*). The "right-hand side" of the mosque is in the neighbourhood of the colonnades (*C*), along the wall on the right of the Court when you face the Mihrâb, and the "left-hand side" is on the opposite side (*D*). In the Court (*as Sahn*) thus



JÂMI' OF IBN TÛLÛN
IN OLD CAIRO

enclosed, are often other buildings, such as tombs or minor chapels. In the Mosque of Ibn Tûlûn there is a domed building (*E*), originally intended to serve as the mausoleum of the founder, but which, as he died far away in Syria, was subsequently fitted up with a water-tank to serve as a place for the ablution before prayer.

Turning now to the Arab descriptions of the Haram Area at Jerusalem, the point it is of importance to remember is that the term *Masjid* (whence through the Egyptian pronunciation of *Masgid*, and the Spanish *Mesquita*, our word "mosque") applies to the whole of the Haram Area, not to the Aksâ alone. *Masjid* in Arabic means "a place of prostration (in prayer) ;" and therefore to revert once again to Ibn 'Tûlûn's Mosque, (1) the Main-building, *A* ; (2) the Court, and (3) the Colonnades at the back, *B* ; with those (4) to the right, *C* ; to the left, *D* ; as also (5) the Dome *E* in the Court—one and all form essential parts of the mosque, and are all comprehended by the term "Al Masjid."

Bearing these points in mind, and coming to the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem, we find that the term "Masjid," as already stated, is commonly applied not only to the Aksâ Mosque (more properly the *Jâmi'*, or "place of assembly," for prayer), but to the whole enclosure of the great Court, with the Dome of the Rock in the middle, and all the other minor domes, and chapels, and colonnades. The Dome of the Rock (misnamed by the Franks "the Mosque of 'Omar"), is not itself a mosque or place for public prayer, but merely the largest of the many cupolas in the Court of the Mosque, and in this instance was built to cover and do honour to the Holy Rock which lies beneath it.

Great confusion is introduced into the Arab descriptions of the Noble Sanctuary by the indiscriminate use of the terms *Al Masjid* or *Al Masjid al Aksâ*, *Jâmi'* or *Jâmi' al Aksâ* ; and nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the locality described will prevent a translator, ever and again, misunderstanding the text he has before him—since the native authorities use the technical terms in an extraordinarily inexact manner, often confounding the whole, and its part, under the single denomination of "Masjid." Further, the usage of various writers differs considerably on these points: Mukaddasi invariably speaks of the whole Haram Area as *Al Masjid*, or as *Al Masjid al Aksâ*, "the Aksâ Mosque," or "the mosque," while the Main-building of the mosque, at the south end of the Haram Area, which we generally term the Aksâ, he refers to as *Al Mughattâ*, "the Covered-part." Thus he writes "the mosque is entered by thirteen gates," meaning the gates of

the Haram Area. So also "on the right of the court," means along the west wall of the Haram Area; "on the left side" means the east wall; and "at the back" denotes the northern boundary wall of the Haram Area.

Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who wrote in Persian, uses for the Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque the Persian word *Pûshish*, that is, "Covered-part," which exactly translates the Arabic *Al Mughattâ*. On some occasions, however, the Aksâ Mosque (as we call it) is spoken of by Nâsir as the *Maksûrah*, a term used especially to denote the railed-off oratory of the Sultan, facing the Mihrâb, and hence in an extended sense applied to the building which includes the same. The great Court of the Haram Area, Nâsir always speaks of as the *Masjid*, or the *Masjid al Aksâ*, or again as the Friday Mosque (*Masjid-i-Jun'ah*).

In the presence of this ambiguity of terms, I have thought it better to translate *Al Masjid* and the various other phrases by "the Haram Area," or "the Noble Sanctuary," in the one case, and by "the Aksâ Mosque" in the other, as circumstances demanded, and in accordance with the context; in order thus to render the translation perfectly clear to European readers. It may be added that Muslim authorities speak in the same loose way of "the Rock," when they really mean "the Dome of the Rock" (*Kubbat as Sakhrâh*) which covers the same; but this, after all, is only as we speak of the "Holy Sepulchre," meaning "the Church," which is built over it. In concluding these preliminary remarks, attention is directed to the fact that the *Kiblah*, denoting the point of the compass towards Makkah, is in Syria used approximately as synonymous with "south." In Egypt, as will be seen in the plan of Ibn Tûlûn's Mosque, the *Kiblah* points *east*. The *Kiblah* point in a mosque is indicated by a niche in the (Jâmi') wall, generally finely ornamented, called the *Mihrâb*. Besides the great Mihrâb of the mosque, there are often numerous other and minor Mihrâbs (prayer niches or oratories), just as in a Catholic church there are many minor altars and chapels in addition to the high altar of the chancel.

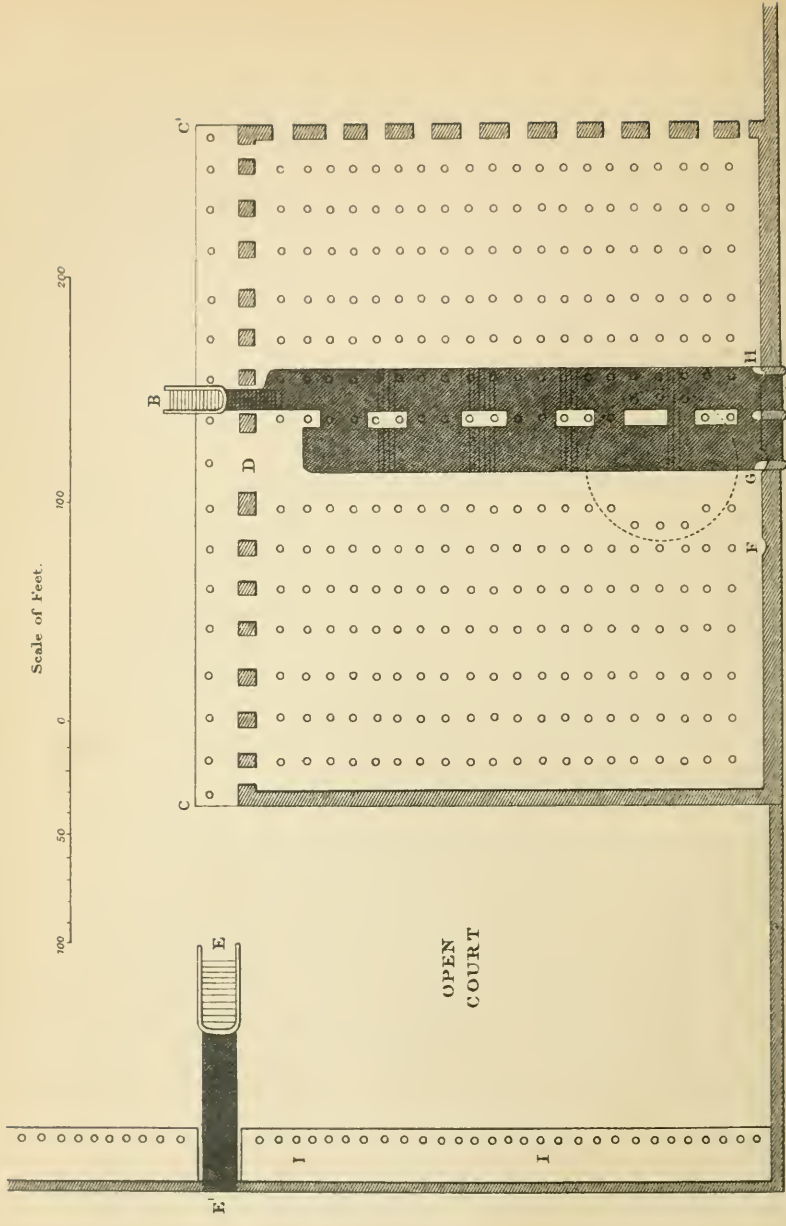
Descriptions of the Aksâ Mosque.—During the hundred years that preceded Mukaddasi's date, Syria and Palestine had become

lost to the Baghdad Khalifs. In 878 (264) Ahmad ibn Tûlûn, their viceroy at Cairo, had asserted his independence, seized on Egypt and conquered the whole of Syria. The rule of the Tûlûnides lasted in Southern Syria and Palestine till 934, when their power was transferred to the Ikhshidis, who, in turn, were driven out of Egypt and Syria by the Fatimite Khalif Al Mu'izz in 969 ; and it was under the rule of his successor, Al 'Azîz, that Mukaddasi wrote his description of Jerusalem in 985.

Mukaddasi's account of the Aksâ Mosque at this date is as follows :

"The Masjid al Aksâ (the Further Mosque with the Haram Area) lies at the south-eastern corner of the Holy City. The stones of the foundations of the Haram Area wall, which were laid by David, are ten ells, or a little less, in length. They are chiselled (or *drafted*), finely faced, and jointed, and of hardest material. On these the Khalif 'Abd al Malik subsequently built, using smaller but well-shaped stones, and battlements are added above. This mosque is even more beautiful than that of Damascus, for during the building of it they had for a rival and as a comparison the great Church (of the Holy Sepulchre) belonging to the Christians at Jerusalem, and they built this to be even more magnificent than that other. But in the days of the Abbasides occurred the earthquakes,* which threw down most of the Main-building (*al Mughattâ*, which is the Aksâ Mosque) ; all, in fact, except that portion which is round the Mihrâb. Now when the Khalif of that day (who was Al Mahdi) obtained news of this, he inquired and learned that the sum at that time in the treasury would in no wise suffice to restore the mosque. So he wrote to the governors of the provinces, and to all the commanders, that each should undertake the building of a colonnade. The order was carried out, and the edifice rose firmer and more substantial than ever it had been in former times. The more ancient portion remained, even like a beauty spot, in the midst of the new, and it extends as far as the limit of the marble columns ; for beyond, where the columns are of concrete, the later building commences. The Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque has twenty-

* See p. 92.



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PLAN OF THE AKSÂ MOSQUE.

six doors. The door (D) opposite to the Mihrâb is called the Great Brazen Gate ; it is plated with brass gilt, and is so heavy that only a man strong of shoulder and of arm can turn it on its hinges. To the right hand of this (Great Gate) are seven large doors, the midmost covered with gilt plates ; and after the same manner there are seven doors to the left. And further, on the eastern side (of the Aksâ), are eleven doors unornamented. Over the first-mentioned doors, fifteen in number, is a colonnade (C, C') supported on marble pillars, lately erected by 'Abd Allah ibn Tâhir.*

"On the right-hand side of the Court (that is along the West Wall of the Haram Area) are colonnades supported by marble pillars and pilasters ; and on the back (or North Wall of the Haram Area) are colonnades vaulted in stone. The centre part of the Main-building (of the Aksâ) is covered by a mighty roof, high-pitched and gable-wise, over which rises a magnificent dome. The ceilings everywhere—except those of the colonnades at the back (along the North Wall of the Haram Area)—are covered with lead in sheets ; but in these (northern) colonnades the ceilings are made of mosaics studded-in.

"On the left (or east side of the Haram Area) there are no colonnades. The Main-building of the (Aksâ) Mosque does not come up to the Eastern Wall of the Haram Area, the building here, as it is said, never having been completed. Of the reason for this they give two accounts. The one is, that the Khalif 'Omar commanded the people to erect a building 'in the western part of the Area, as a place of prayer for Muslims ;' and so they left this space (which is towards the south-eastern angle) unoccupied, in order not to go counter to his injunction. The other reason given is, that it was not found possible to extend the Main-building of the (Aksâ) Mosque as far as the south-east angle of the Area Wall, lest the (great) Mihrâb, in the centre-place at the end of the Mosque, should not then have stood opposite the Rock under the Dome ; and such a case was repugnant to them. But Allah alone knows the truth." (Muk., 168-171.)

On a subsequent page Mukaddasi gives an account of the Talis-

* Independent Governor of Khurasân and the East from 828 to 844. He was third in succession of the Tahiride Dynasty.

man in the Aksâ ; and Al Bîrûnî,* writing in 1000 (A.H. 390), a few years later than Mukaddasi, also mentions having seen these curious writings ; Mukaddasi's notice is as follows :

“ In the Holy City there is a Talisman against the bite of serpents, the same being the inscription on the marble slab behind the Pulpit of the Great Mosque, where is cut in the surface the words : *Mohammad is Allah's Apostle* ; and, again, *In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate.*” (Muk., 186.)

Ibn al Fakîh, who wrote (903) about eighty years before Mukaddasi, has the following note on this Talisman. He also, as will be noted, speaks of the Maksûrahs, or spaces in the Mosque railed-off for the accommodation of the women ; the dimensions, however, that are recorded (70 or 80 ells by 50, equivalent to 120 feet by 75) make it difficult to understand how these could have been *inside* the Aksâ. Perhaps, therefore, the Aksâ must here again be taken to mean the whole Haram Area, and then the Maksûrahs may have stood in the outer court. The account of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, a contemporary (913), confirms this. Ibn al Fakîh writes :

“ To the right of the Mihrâb (of the Aksâ) is a slab on which, in a circle, is written the name of Muhammad—the blessing of Allah be upon him !—and on a white stone behind the Kiblah (wall, to the south) is an inscription in the following words : *In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Muhammad is Allah's Apostle, and Hamzah was his helper.* Now, within the (Aksâ) Mosque are three Maksûrahs for the women, each Maksûrah being 70 ells in length.” (I. F., 100.)

On the subject of the Maksûrahs Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's statement is that :

“ In the Mosque (Al Aksâ) are three Maksûrahs for the women, the length of each Maksûrah being 80 ells, and its breadth 50.” (I. R., iii. 367.)

It will be seen that Mukaddasi, writing in 985 A.D., describes the Aksâ Mosque of his day as having *fifteen* doorways opening to the north, and *eleven* opening to the east. The plan of the Aksâ must then have been very different from that of the present build.

* *Athâr al Bâkiyah*. Sachau's translation, p. 294.

ing, as may be seen by a reference to the illustrations facing pp. 99 and 110.* In 1016 (A.H. 407) and 1034 (A.H. 425), as we learn from the Chronicles of Ibn al Athîr, Syria was visited by destructive earthquakes. He writes :

“ In 407 the Great Dome fell down upon the Rock (*as Sakhrâh*) in Jerusalem.”† And again : “ In 425 earthquakes were many in both Egypt and Syria. The most destructive was that felt at Ar Ramlah. The people abandoned their houses there during many days ; a third of the town was thrown down, and many persons were killed under the ruins.”‡

Of the destruction at Ar Ramlah we shall speak subsequently (see Chapter VIII.). Considerable damage was also done by the earthquake of the year 425 to the outer wall of the Haram Area, and an extant inscription *in situ* records the date of the restoration carried out here by order of the Fatîmite Khalif Adh Dhâhir. The text of the inscription copied from a stone in the wall of the Haram Area, is given by M. de Vogüé in his magnificent work on *Le Temple de Jérusalem* (p. 77). He states it may still be clearly read, though in a rather dilapidated condition, on two of the battlements near the *Cradle of Jesus*, at the south-east Angle. The translation of this inscription is as follows :

“ . . . *the days of the Imâm adh Dhâhir li 'Izâz ad Dîn Allah, the Commander of the Faithful* . . . (words illegible) . . . *the southern outer wall and the* . . . (eastern?) *outer wall* . . . *year four hundred and twenty-five.*”

That the Aksâ Mosque was also seriously damaged at this period is proved by an inscription that was read a hundred and forty years after this date, on the ceiling of the Dome of the Aksâ by 'Ali of Herat, who visited the Holy City in 1173, while the place was still in the hands of the Crusaders. This inscription is apparently no longer to be seen—at least, M. de Vogüé makes no mention of it in his work. Possibly, however, it might

* For the first idea of the plans facing pp. 99 and 106, I am indebted to Professor Hayter-Lewis (see his paper in the *Palestine Exploration Fund* “Quarterly Statement” for January, 1887). My plans, however, differ slightly from his, being drawn to scale on the measurements given by Nâsir-i-Khusrau of the Mosque as he saw it in 1047.

† Ibn al Athîr, vol. ix., p. 209.

‡ Idem, vol. ix., p. 298.

still be discovered were careful search instituted,* for 'Ali of Herat's account is very circumstantial, as will be seen by the following translation :

“The Aksâ Mosque.—In this Mosque is the Mihrâb of the Khalif 'Omar ; the Franks have not done it any damage. On the roof I read the following inscription: *In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise to Him who brought His servant (Muhammad) by night from the Masjid al Haram (at Makkah) to the Masjid al Aksâ (at Jerusalem), on the precincts of which we invoke a blessing. May Allah give aid to His servant and vicar, 'Ali Abu-l Hasan adh Dhâhir-li-'Izâzi-dîn-Allah, the Commander of the Faithful. Allah's benediction be upon him and upon his immaculate forefathers, and upon his beneficent sons! For the restoration of this same Dome and its gilding, hath given command our illustrious and dear lord, the chosen servant of the Commander of the Faithful, and his devoted servant, Abu-l Kâsim 'Ali ibn Ahmad—Allah give him aid and protection! The whole of this (restoration) was accomplished by the last day of the month Dhû-l Ka'adah, of the year 426: he who (superintended) the building of the same being 'Abd Allah ibn al Hasan of Cairo, the architect.* This inscription, as well as the porticoes,” says 'Ali, “are all done over with mosaics of gold, and these the Franks have not touched or in any way damaged.”

The description of the Aksâ in 985 by Mukaddasi is, in the main, identical with that given by Nâsir, who visited Jerusalem sixty years later (1047), and the two accounts taken together enable us to gain a very exact idea of the appearance of the Great Mosque before the arrival of the Crusaders. The chief difference between the Mosque as described by Mukaddasi and that seen by Nâsir lies in the number of gates. Mukaddasi says there were in his day *fifteen* gates to the north, and *eleven* to the east ; while the Persian pilgrim describes only *seven* gates to the north, and *ten* opening east. Further, Nâsir makes no mention of the

* My translation is from the MS. in the Bodleian, at fol. 36, verso. With a view of the possible recovery of this inscription, I have printed the Arabic text in the *Palestine Exploration Fund* “Quarterly Statement” for October, 1888, p. 280.

colonnade built by Ibn Tâhir, which, according to Mukaddasi, formed a portico to the gates opening north.

The earthquakes of the years 407 (1016) and 425 (1034), which took place between the dates of the visits of Mukaddasi and Nâsir, must account for these changes. Ibn Tâhir's colonnade doubtless fell, and the North Wall of the Aksâ, weak as it was by the apertures pierced in it for the fifteen gates, must have suffered much damage. When the walls were restored after the earthquakes, *five* gates (instead of fifteen) were left in the North Wall, and in the East Wall one of Mukaddasi's *eleven* gates was presumably blocked, leaving the *ten* open as seen by Nâsir.

Nâsir states there were in the Mosque 280 columns. These, in a small degree, would recall the forest of columns we see in the great Omayyad Mosque at Cordova—at this present day the Cathedral. That the Aksâ was not unlike the Cordovan Mosque may be inferred from Idrisi's mention (see p. 108) of the two together for the purposes of a comparison of their respective sizes. The Cordovan Mosque, begun in 786 A.D., and finished by the two successors of the Spanish Khalif 'Abd ar Rahman I., shows at the present day no fewer than 850 columns in a space that measures 534 feet by 387. In other words, the Spanish Mosque is more than double the area of the Aksâ in Nâsir's days (as we shall see by the figures immediately to be quoted), and the Cordovan building must have contained just over three times the number of columns to be seen in 1047 in the Great Mosque at Jerusalem.*

To return, however, to the description of the Aksâ. It will be noticed that the number of the columns, stated by Nâsir at 280, divides up very well to form the fourteen minor aisles going south, towards the Kiblah, from the fourteen minor gates in the North

* The Cordovan Mosque had originally eleven longitudinal aisles, eight more being added on the east side by the Khalif Hishâm. In its first design, therefore, this Mosque was more like the Aksâ even than it came to be after the later additions. There were in the Spanish Mosque over thirty rows of columns originally, doubtless perfectly symmetrically arranged. At the present day many columns are lacking and set out of place, to accommodate the monstrous Gothic chapel which was built in Charles V.'s days. (See *Monumentos Arabes*, por Rafael Contreras, Madrid, 1878, p. 42.)

Wall, as described by Mukaddasi. I, therefore, take it for granted that in Mukaddasi's time also there were these twenty rows of columns, standing 6 ells (12 feet) apart, with fourteen columns in each row, and it is on this data that the two plans facing pp. 99 and 106 have been drawn.

Nâsir is the first to give us the exact dimensions of the Aksâ. Twice over, he says that the East Wall—that is, the length of the Mosque from north to south—measured “*four* hundred and twenty cubits;” while the width along the North Wall was “150 cubits.”* The width of 150 cubits, or 300 feet, tallies well enough with the remainder of Nâsir's description, and with what is known from Mukaddasi and modern measurements in the Haram Area. The length of 420 cubits, however, equivalent to 840 feet, is an impossible dimension; for this, measuring from the great South Wall of the Haram Area, would bring the Northern Gates and Wall of the Aksâ over the Dome of the Rock and the Platform. Without any great likelihood of error, we should, I think, read “120” for the 420. This, being 240 feet, would bring the North Wall and Gates of Nâsir's Mosque on the same line as the Gates and North Wall (inside the porch) of the present Mosque. Considerable portions of the extant walls between the Northern Gates show at the present day (according to M. de Vogüé) unmistakable traces of ancient structure. (See the plan drawn in De Vogüé's *Jérusalem*, plate xxx., and the plan facing p. 110.) And this confirms the hypothesis that we have in the modern walls the line still unaltered of the ancient North Wall of the Mosque as it has existed since the days when, on Al Mahdi's restoration, the building was shortened in the length, and made broader in the width. (See p. 93.)

Nâsir's measurements of the open space between the south-east Angle of the Haram Area and the East Wall of the Aksâ, namely, “200 ells” (see next page) is, in round numbers, exact, for the measurement would, as near as may be, have been 400 feet, if we draw the plan to scale on the figures given in the foregoing paragraphs.

The following is a translation of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's description of the Aksâ Mosque in 1047 :

* See p. 106.

“The Friday Mosque (which is the Aksâ) lies on the east side of the city, and (as before noticed) one of the walls of the Mosque (Area) is on the Wâdî Jahannum. When you examine this wall, which is on the Wâdî, from the outside of the Haram Area, you may see that for the space of 100 cubits it is built up of huge stones, set without mortar or cement. Inside the Mosque (Area) the summit of this wall is perfectly level. The (Aksâ) Mosque occupies the position it does because of the Rock As Sakhrâh.” (N. Kh., 26.)

After describing the *Cradle of Jesus* (see Chapter V.), Nâsir continues :

“Then passing the entrance to this Mosque (of the *Cradle of Jesus*) near the (south-eastern) Angle of the East Wall (of the Haram Area), you come to a great and beautiful Mosque, which is other than that called the *Cradle of Jesus*, and is of many times its size. This is called the Masjid al Aksâ (or the Further Mosque), and it is that to which Allah—be He exalted and glorified!—brought His chosen (Apostle) in the Night Journey from Makkah, and from here caused him to ascend up into Heaven, even as is adverted to in the words of the Kurân: *Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night from the Masjid al Harâm (the sacred Mosque at Makkah) to the Masjid al Aksâ (the Mosque that is more Remote at Jerusalem), whose precinct we have blessed.** On this spot they have built, with utmost skill, a Mosque. Its floor is spread with beautiful carpets, and special servants are appointed for its service to serve therein continually.

“From the (south-east) Angle, and along the South Wall (of the Haram Area) for the space of 200 ells (or 400 feet), there is no building, and this is part of the Court (of the Haram Area). The Main-building (of the Aksâ Mosque)† is very large, and contains the Maksûrah (or space railed-off for the officials), which is built against the South Wall (of the Haram Area). The length of the western side of the Main-building (of the Aksâ) measures

* Kurân, ch. xvii., ver. 1.

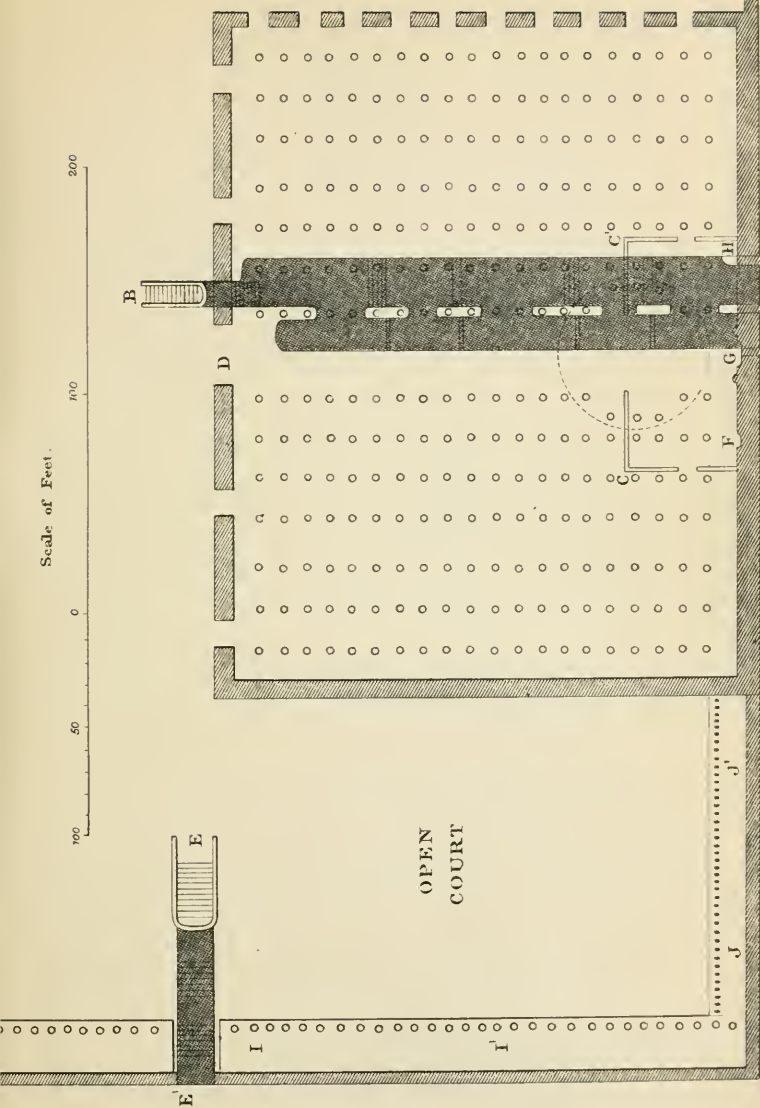
† In Persian *Pâshish*, “covered part,” corresponding with the Arabic term *Mughattâ*, which has the same signification.

420 cubits (*read* 120 cubits), and the width of it is 150 cubits.* The Aksâ Mosque has 280 marble columns, supporting arches that are fashioned of stone, and both the shafts and the capitals are riveted with lead, so that nothing can be more firm. Between the (rows of) columns measures 6 ells. The Mosque is everywhere flagged with coloured marble, and the joints are riveted in lead. The Maksûrah (Plan, C, C') is facing the centre of the South Wall (of the Mosque), and is of such size as to contain sixteen columns. Above rises a mighty dome, that is ornamented with enamel-work, after the fashion to be seen in other parts of the Noble Sanctuary. In this place there is spread Maghribi matting, and there are lamps and lanterns, each suspended by its separate chain.

"The great Mihrâb (or prayer-niche towards Makkah, Plan, G) is adorned with enamel-work;† and on either side the Mihrâb are two columns of marble, of the colour of red cornelian. The whole of the low wall round the Maksûrah is built of coloured marble. To the right (of the great Mihrâb) is the Mihrâb of (the Khalif) Mu'awiyah (Plan, F), and to the left is the Mihrâb of (the Khalif) 'Omar (Plan, H)—May Allah grant him acceptance! The roof of the (Aksâ) Mosque is constructed of wood, beautifully sculptured. Outside the doors and walls of the Maksûrah, and in the parts facing (north and east) towards the Court (of the Haram Area), are fifteen gateways, each of which is closed by a finely-wrought door, measuring 10 ells in height by 6 ells in the breadth. Ten of these doorways open in the (east) wall (of the Mosque), which is 420 cubits in length (*read* 120 cubits), and there are five in the width (or north wall) of the Mosque, which measures 150 cubits in length. Among these gates there is one

* These are the figures in the British Museum MS., which are also those of M. Schefer's French translation. His text, however, runs as follows, and differs both from his translation and the text of the British Museum MS.: "The main building of the (Aksâ) Mosque is very large. The length is four hundred and *eight* cubits, and the Maksûrah lies to the right hand, against the South Wall. The western side of the Main-building measures *four* hundred and fifty cubits in the width." My reasons for substituting 120 for 420 are given on p. 104.

† The present Mihrâb only dates from the time of Saladin; see p. 109.



S.W. ANGLE

PLAN OF THE AKSÂ MOSQUE,
ACCORDING TO THE DESCRIPTION OF NÂSIR-I-KHUSRAU, IN 1047.A.D.

of brass, most finely wrought and beautiful; so that one would say it was of gold, set in with fired silver (niello?), and chased.* The name of the Khalif Al Mâmûn is upon it, and they relate that Al Mâmûn sent it from Baghdad.† When all these gates of the Mosque are set open, the interior of the building is light, even as though it were a court open to the sky. When there is wind and rain they close these gates, and then the light comes from the windows (above). Along all the four sides of the Main-building (of the Aksâ Mosque) are chests that belong each one to a certain city of Syria and 'Irâk, and near these the Mujâwirân (or pilgrims who are residing for a time in the Holy City) take their seat, even as is done in the Haram Mosque at Makkah. May Allah—be He glorified!—ennoble the same." (N. Kh., 34-38.)

On July 14, 1099, the Crusaders, under Godfrey de Bouillon, became possessed of the Holy City. The Haram Area was given over to the Knights of the recently-established Order of the Temple, who derived their name from the Dome of the Rock, which the Crusaders imagined to be the Temple of the days of Christ, and hence named *Templum Domini*. The Aksâ Mosque, on the other hand, was known as the *Palatium*, or *Templum Salomonis*. The Templars made considerable alterations in the Aksâ Mosque and the adjoining portions of the Haram Area, but left the Dome of the Rock untouched. On the west of the Aksâ, along the south wall of the Haram Area, they built their armoury, on the site occupied by the colonnades of arches described by Nâsir (see Chapter V.). In the substructions of the south-east Angle of the Haram Area, to the west of the *Cradle of Jesus*, they stabled their horses, using probably either the ancient "Triple Gate," or the "Single Gate" (see Chapter V.), as the mode of egress from these vaults.

The Sicilian geographer Idrîsî, who lived at King Roger's Court,

* The Great Brass Gate mentioned by Mukaddasi; see p. 99, Plan, D.

† M. Schefer is, I believe, incorrect when he states in a note to his translation of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's *Sefer Nameh* (p. 81, n. 2) that this inscription, of Al Mâmûn, is still extant. It is certainly not to be found in M. de Vogüé's *Jérusalem*, p. 86, which is the reference given.

has left the following short notice of the Aksâ Mosque as it stood in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. ; but, as has been before stated (p. 7), it seems probable that Idrîsî had never himself visited Jerusalem, and he must therefore have derived his information from books in King Roger's library, and the descriptions given him by home-coming pilgrims. Idrîsî reports as follows :

"On leaving the Great Church (of the Resurrection), and going eastwards, you come to the holy house built by Solomon, the son of David. This, in the time of the Jews, was a mosque (or house of prayer), to which pilgrimage was made ; but it was taken out of their hands, and they were driven from thence. And when the days of Islam came, under the kings of the Muslims, the spot came once more to be venerated as the Masjid al Aksâ.

"The Masjid al Aksâ is the Great Mosque (of Jerusalem), and in the whole earth there is no mosque of greater dimensions than this, unless it be the Friday Mosque at Cordova, in Andalusia, which they say has a greater extent of roof than has the Aksâ, only the court of the Aksâ Mosque (or Haram Area) is certainly larger than is that of the mosque at Cordova. (The Haram Area of) the Masjid al Aksâ is four-sided ; its length measures 200 fathoms (*bâ'*), and its breadth is 180 fathoms. In that half (of the Haram Area) which lies (south) towards the Mihrâb (or prayer-niche) is (the Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque), which is roofed with domes of stone set on many rows of columns. The other half (of the Haram Area) is an (open) court, and is not roofed over. The gate of the Dome of the Rock to the south faces the roofed-in portion (which is the Main-building of the Aksâ), which same was in former times the place of prayer of the Muslims. Since (the Holy City) was conquered by the Greeks (that is, the Crusaders), and it hath remained in their hands even down to the time of the writing of this book (in the year 1154 A.D.), they have converted this roofed-in portion (which is the Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque) into chambers, wherein are lodged those companies of men known as Ad Dâwiyyah (the Templars), whose name signifies *Servants of God's House*." (Id., 7.)

'Ali of Herat, our next authority, writing a few years before Saladin's reconquest of the Holy City, after noting the inscription

set up by the Fatimite Khalif Adh Dhâhir (see p. 102), gives some details of the dimensions of the Aksâ Mosque, which dimensions agree fairly well with the modern measurements. The "pace" he uses may be taken as approximately 30 inches, and the "ell" is the royal ell of 18 inches.

Following on the description of the Cave under the Rock, 'Ali writes :

"The width of the Riwâk (or main colonnade of the Aksâ Mosque ?) is 15 paces ; and its length, from south to north, is 94 paces (or 235 feet). The height of the Dome of the Aksâ is 60 ells (90 feet), and its circumference is 96 ells (that is, 32 ells diameter, or 48 feet). The perimetre of the square (under the Dome) is 160 ells (each side being 40 ells, or 60 feet). The length of the Aksâ, from south to north, is 148 ells (or 222 feet)." (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 39.)

After Saladin's reconquest of the Holy City in 1187, the whole of the Haram Area and its various buildings underwent a complete restoration. The account given in the Chronicle of Ibn al Athîr of what was especially done in the Aksâ Mosque is as follows* :

"*Events of the year 583 (1187).*—When Saladin had taken possession of the city and driven out the infidels, he commanded that the buildings should be put back to their ancient usage. Now the Templars had built to the west of the Aksâ a building for their habitation, and constructed there all that they needed of granaries, and also latrines, with other such places, and they had even enclosed a part of the Aksâ in their new building. Saladin commanded that all this should be set back to its former state, and he ordered that the Masjid (or Harem Area) should be cleansed, as also the Rock, from all the filth and the impurities that were there. All this was executed as he commanded."

Over the Great Mihrâb, in the Aksâ Mosque, may still be read the inscription set here by Saladin after this restoration was completed. The Arabic text is given by M. de Vogüé in *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 101. The translation of the same is as follows :

"*In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful ! Hath ordered the repair of this holy Mihrâb, and the restoration of the*

* Ibn al Athîr, vol. ix., p. 364.

Aksâ Mosque—which was founded in piety—the servant of Allah, and His regent, Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb Abu-l Mudhaffar, the victorious king, Salah ad Dunyâ wa ad Dîn (Saladin), after that Allah had conquered (the City) by his hand during the month of the year 583. And he asketh of Allah to inspire him with thankfulness for this favour, and to make him a partaker of the remission (of sins), through His mercy and forgiveness.”

Subsequent to the Muslim reconquest of the Holy City, the only mention made by the historians of any alterations in the Aksâ Mosque are those noted by Mujîr ad Din. He states that the south wall of the Haram Area, near the Mihrâb of David, was rebuilt by the Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt, Muhammad, son of Kalâ'un, who reigned from 1310 to 1341. The same Prince also ordered the south end of the Aksâ to be lined with marble slabs, and caused two windows to be pierced there, in the south wall, to right and to left of the Great Mihrâb. (M. a. D., 438.)

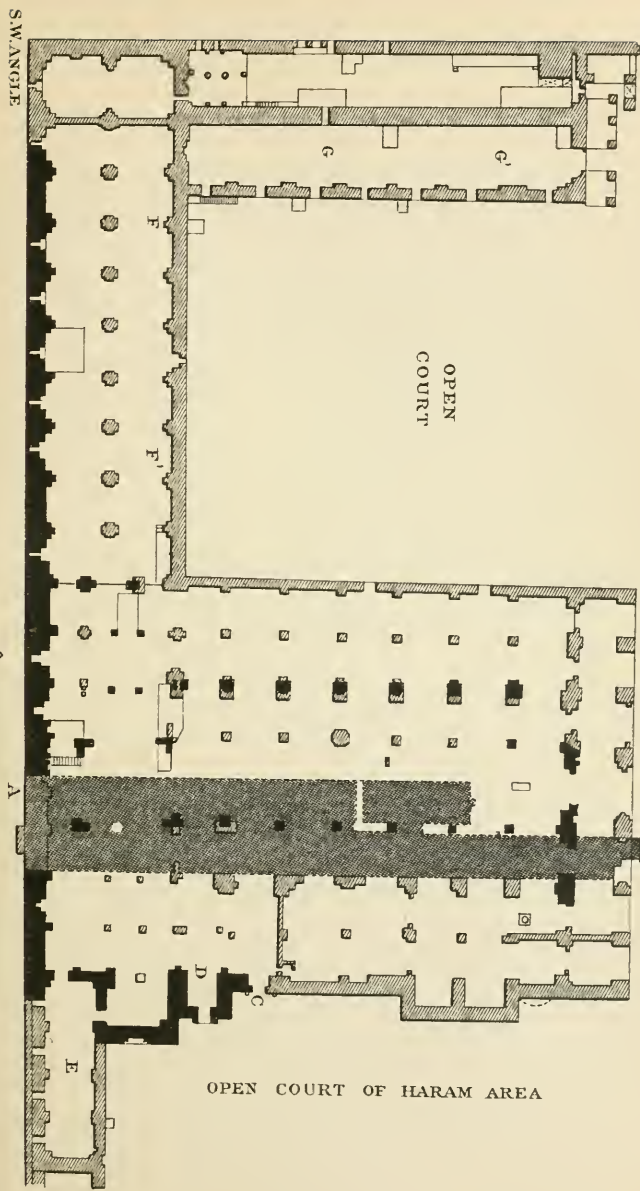
After the times of Saladin there is no detailed description of the dimensions and appearance of the Aksâ Mosque till we come to that written by Mujîr ad Din in 1496; and in his day the Mosque was evidently identical with the one we now see. The present Mosque (exactly like that described in 1496) has seven gates to the north, and only one to the east. Two other gates, on the western side, lead one into the court, and one into what was, in Crusading days, the 'Templars' Armoury, sometimes called *Baka'at al Baidâ* (Plan, F, F'), and incorrectly *Al Aksâ al Kadimah* ('the Ancient Aksâ'), which Mujîr ad Din names 'the Women's Mosque.' Mujîr ad Din's description is as follows:

“The Aksâ Mosque measures in length north to south, from the Great Mihrâb to the threshold of the Great Gate opposite to it, 100 ells of the workman's ell (*Dhirâ' al 'Amal*). This does not include the bow of the Mihrâb, nor the portico outside the northern doors. The width from the Eastern Gate (C)—through which you go out to the Cradle of Jesus—to the Western Gate, is 76 ells of the workman's ell.* The Mosque has ten gates leading out to the Court of the Haram Area. Seven are to the north, opening

* In the present plan these lines measure 230 feet by 170, giving for the workman's ell 2·3 feet, and 2·24 feet—roughly, 2½ feet.



Scale of Feet.

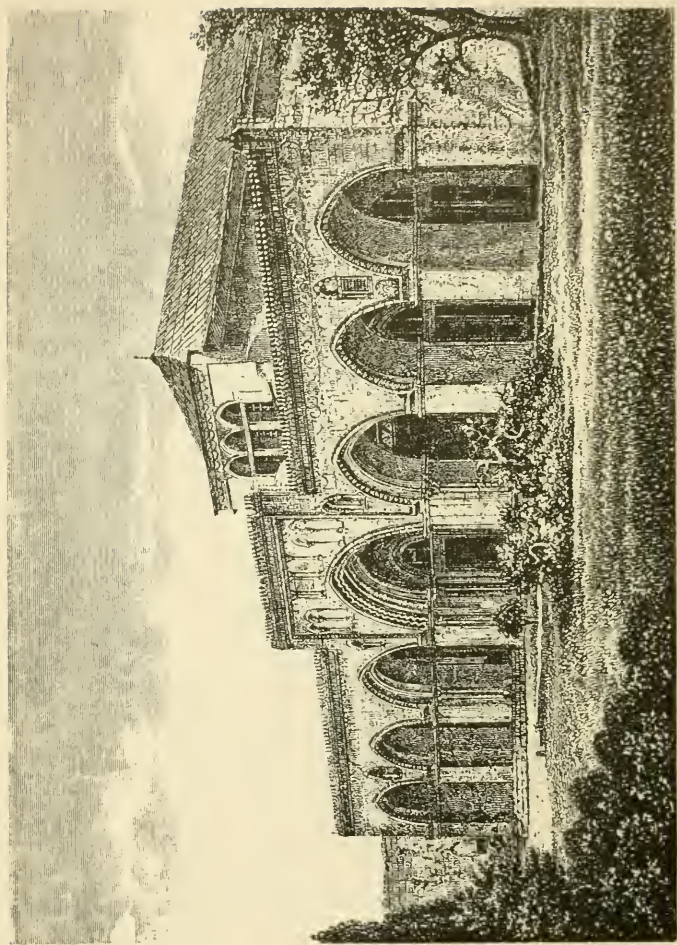


OPEN
COURT

OPEN COURT OF HARAM AREA

S.W. ANGLE

PLAN OF THE AKSÂ MOSQUE,
AT THE PRESENT DAY.



MASJID AL AKSÁ.
NORTH FRONT AND PORTICO.

from each one of the seven aisles of the Mosque.* Then there is the eastern door and the western door, and the door leading to the building known as the Jâmi' an Nisâ, 'the Mosque of the Women' (the 'Templars' Armoury, Plan, F, F'). Now from the western part of the Aksâ, there opens this great hall, called Jami' an Nisâ. It has a double aisle running east and west, roofed by ten vaults, supported on nine piers, very solidly built. I learn that this place was built during the days of the Fatimites." (M. a. D., 367, 368.)

The last assertion is presumably in error, for the Templars' Armoury does not date from Fatimite days.

Of the Mihrâbs in the Aksâ Mosque, Suyûti gives the following notes, showing that in his day (1470) they stood exactly as they do at present :

"The Mihrâb of Zakariyyâ (Zacharias).—Most agree that it is that within the (Aksâ) Mosque in the aisle (*riwâk*), near the eastern door."

In the Muslim legend, "Zacharias, the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar" (St. Matth. xxiv. 35), and Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest who was stoned with stones at the "commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord" (2 Chron. xxiv. 22), and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, are all one and the same personage. The Mihrâb Zakariyyâ is still pointed out at the point D on the plan of the Aksâ Mosque.

Suyûti continues :

"The Mihrâb of Mu'âwiyah.—This is said to be the beautiful Mihrâb which is at the present time enclosed within the Maksûrah (the part railed-off), for the preacher of the Khutbah (or Friday sermon). Between it and the great Mihrâb comes the beautiful pulpit. As to the Mihrâb of 'Omar, people differ which this may

* The accompanying illustration of the north front and portico of the Aksâ represents the building as it stands at the present day. The gable or pitched roof (called Jamalân, or "camel-backed" in Arabic), covering the central nave, is here shown. This form of roof, according to Mukaddasi (see pp. 21 and 99), was peculiar to the Mosques in Syria ; in other countries the roofs of the Mosques were generally flat and covered with a coating of clay.

be. Some say it is the great Mihrâb, close to which now stands the Noble Pulpit, and fronting the Great Gate, through which you enter the Aksâ Mosque. Others say that the Mihrâb of 'Omar is the one in the eastern aisle of the Aksâ Mosque, being in the (south) wall of the Mosque, seeing this said aisle, with its adjacent parts, is called the Jâmi' of 'Omar (Plan, E), and that this is the very place which he cleared of filth, he, 'Omar, and those who were with him of the Companions, and swept clean before they prayed thereon. Whence it is called the Jâmi' of 'Omar. Most, however, are of the opinion before mentioned, namely, that the Mihrâb of 'Omar is the great Mihrâb near the Mimbar, or Pulpit." (S., 264.)

The small building on the east of the Aksâ, along the south boundary wall, known at the present day as the Mosque of 'Omar (Plan, E), and here referred to, is of comparatively modern construction, and subsequent to the days of Saladin. The present building lying to the east of the north portico and gates of the Aksâ, called the Fârisiyyah (not shown on the plan facing p. 110), was built by a certain Fâris ad Dîn Albki, about the year (755) 1354. (M. a. D., 390.)

The question now arises : When did the great change in the plan of the Aksâ Mosque take place?—from the many-columned Mosque of the days of Nâsir (as shown in the plans facing pp. 99 and 106) to the comparatively poor building described by Mujir ad Din, and seen at the present day? (the plan of which faces p. 110).

The Arab chroniclers tell us nothing very definite on this point, but all we can gather from various sources inclines us fully to agree with Professor Hayter-Lewis in thinking that the great alteration in the Mosque must have been made shortly after the Holy City had been taken by Godfrey de Bouillon. Mr. Hayter-Lewis writes :*

'The probability is that the Mosque was injured in the capture of the town by the Crusaders. By them it was assigned as the residence for the Templars who have left very clear traces of their occupation of the Aksâ ; more especially at the southern part, where an apse to the south-east chapel, and portions of a richly-ornamented arcade to the south wall, are very evident. Probably

* *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, by T. Hayter-Lewis, F.S.A., p. 87.

it was by them repaired and reconstructed much as it appears now, except that when Saladin reconquered the city he restored it to its original purposes of a Mosque, uncovered the Mihrâb, which had been blocked up by a thick wall, as is stated in an inscription by him, decorated the whole, and executed, *circa* 1188, the work now seen in the transepts.'

The historical data given by the Muslim writers would certainly seem to corroborate this view. Tracing the history point by point backward, we find, in the first place, that the Mosque, as it now stands, is identical with that described by Mujîr ad Dîn in 1496. Now Mujîr ad Dîn devotes some pages of the section of his work on the topography of the Holy City (pp. 432-447 of the Cairo text) to a careful enumeration of the long list of Mamlûk Sultans who succeeded to the throne of Saladin (ending with the Sultan of his own days), with a view of mentioning the various monuments they had left in the Haram Area and Jerusalem; and nowhere does he make mention of any extensive alterations having been effected by the Mamlûk Sultans in the Aksâ. Further, the description given in the chronicles of the restorations effected by Saladin in the Mosque after the year 1187. shows that the Mosque, as it came into his hands, after the expulsion of the Crusaders, was in all essential points what Mujîr ad Dîn described in 1496, and what we now see. From 1099 to 1187 the Holy City was in the hands of the Crusaders, and in 1047 we have Nâsir-i-Khusrau's account of the Aksâ when he visited it—a magnificent building, double the width of the present Mosque, with two hundred and eighty pillars supporting the roof, and fifteen aisles. The conclusion can only be that it was during the occupation of the Crusaders that the Mosque was reduced from its original grand proportions to the narrow limits we at present see. This conclusion is confirmed when we remember that the Latins considered the Aksâ Mosque to hold a very secondary place (while the Dome of the Rock was in their eyes the true *Templum Domini*); hence that the Knights Templars had no compunction in remodelling probably the whole building, when they turned part of the Aksâ into a church for the order, and established their mainguard and armoury in the outlying quarters of the great Mosque.

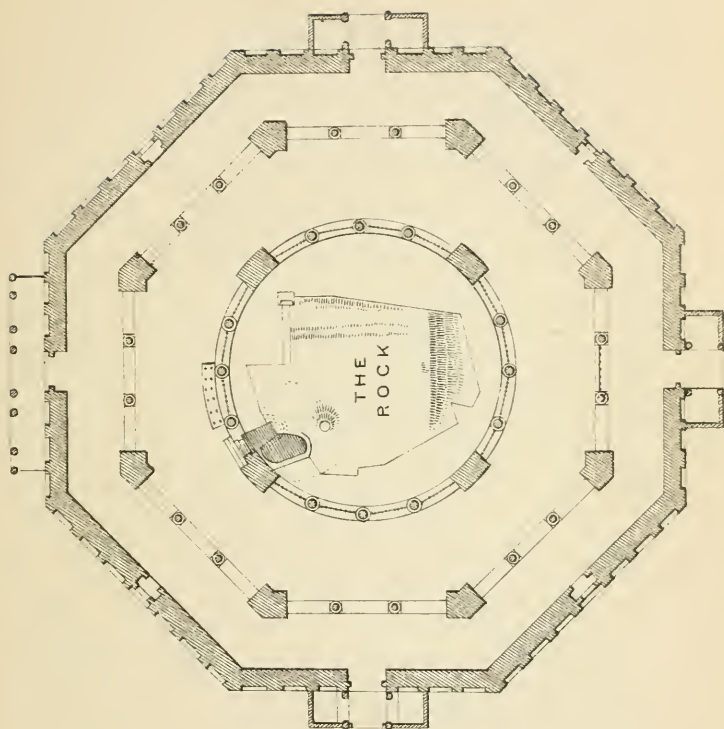
THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

In remarkable contrast with the little that is known of the early architectural history of the Aksâ Mosque, is the very full account given by the Annalists of the date and the historical incidents connected with the foundation of the Dome over the Sacred Rock. From the earliest times, also, there are extant such detailed descriptions of this beautiful building, that it may be affirmed, almost certainly, that the edifice as it now stands in the nineteenth century,* is (in regard to ground-plan and elevation) substantially identical with that which the Khalif 'Abd al Malik erected in the year 691 (A.H. 72). The Cupola, it is true, has on many occasions been shattered by earthquakes, and the walls possibly have often been damaged and repaired, but the octagonal ground-plan and the system of concentric colonnades, through all the restorations have remained unaltered; and even to the number of the windows, the Dome of the Rock, as described in A.D. 903 by Ibn al Fakih, is almost exactly similar to the Kubbat as Sakhrâh of the present day.

In the matter of the Rock which the Dome is intended to cover, it must be remembered that this was held sacred, in the eyes of Muslim true believers, both as representing the ancient Kiblah of Moses—for on the Rock they say the Ark of the Covenant was placed—and as the first Kiblah in Islam, for it was only in the month of Rajab of the second year of the Flight that the revelation came to Muhammad telling him that the Ka'abah at Makkah was for all future times to be the sole Kiblah-point, towards which his followers should turn their faces in prayer. Further, this Rock was an object of veneration to the True Believer, since, according to the received tradition already quoted (p. 89), their Prophet had from this Rock ascended into Paradise, and returned again to earth at this spot, after beholding the presence of Allah. That the Rock was a sacred rock to all Muslims, it is all important to remember, in view of the events which induced 'Abd al Malik to erect the great Dome above it. Before quoting the accounts of this event given

* See frontispiece.

South Door

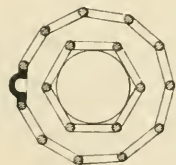


North Door
DOME OF THE ROCK
PLAN

E. Weller: Lath

(from de Vogüé)

Mihrāb.



DOME OF THE CHAIN

in the Arab Chronicles, it may be well to borrow a few lines from a work written by the late Professor E. H. Palmer, which portray the condition of the Omayyad Khalifate at the period when the Dome of the Rock was built :

‘In A.D. 684, in the reign of ‘Abd al Malik, the ninth successor of Muhammad, and the fifth Khalif of the house of Omayyah, events happened which once more turned people’s attention to the City of David. For eight years the Muslim Empire had been distracted by factions and party quarrels. The inhabitants of the two Holy Cities, Makkah and Al Madinah, had risen against the authority of the legitimate Khalifs, and had proclaimed ‘Abd Allah ibn Zubair their spiritual and temporal head. The Khalifs Yazîd and Mu’âwiyah had in vain attempted to suppress the insurrection ; the usurper had contrived to make his authority acknowledged throughout Arabia and the African provinces, and had established the seat of his government at Makkah itself. ‘Abd al Malik trembled for his own rule ; year after year crowds of pilgrims would visit the Ka’abah, and Ibn Zubair’s religious and political influence would thus become disseminated throughout the whole of Islam. In order to avoid these consequences, and at the same time to weaken his rival’s prestige, ‘Abd al Malik conceived the plan of diverting men’s minds from the pilgrimage to Makkah, and inducing them to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem instead.’*

Ya’kûbî, one of the earliest of the Muslim historians, writing of the events which came to pass in ‘Abd al Malik’s days, gives a very clear account of how that Khalif, for the political reason just mentioned, attempted to make the True Believers circumambulate the Rock at Jerusalem, in place of the Black Stone in the Ka’abah at Makkah. Had the attempt succeeded, the Khalif would thereby have instituted annual rites of pilgrimage in Jerusalem on the pattern of those which, since the Prophet’s days, had been performed in the Makkah Haram ; and the golden stream of pilgrim offerings and fees would have flowed into ‘Abd al Malik’s treasury, instead of into the pockets of the inhabitants of Makkah, who

* *Jerusalem the City of Herod and Saladin*, by W. Besant and E. H. Palmer, 1871, p. 78.

were at this time supporting the claims of his rival, Ibn Zubair, to the Khalifate. Had 'Abd al Malik's attempt succeeded, it is a question whether Jerusalem might not then have become the capital of the Omayyads, in place of Damascus. As events turned out, the Khalif failed to divert the Muslim pilgrimage to the Holy City of Palestine, and Makkah did not lose its pre-eminence as the religious centre of Islam, even when Ibn Zubair was defeated and slain, and Damascus was made the seat of the Omayyad Khalifate. To return, however, to the historian Ya'kûbi. The passage of his writings relating to the building of the Dome of the Rock is the following :

“Then 'Abd al Malik forbade the people of Syria to make the pilgrimage (to Makkah) ; and this by reason that 'Abd Allah ibn az Zubair was wont to seize on them during the time of the pilgrimage, and force them to pay him allegiance—which, 'Abd al Malik having knowledge of, forbade the people to journey forth to Makkah. But the people murmured thereat, saying, ‘How dost thou forbid us to make the pilgrimage to Allah's house, seeing that the same is a commandment of Allah upon us?’ But the Khalif answered them, ‘Hath not Ibn Shihâb az Zuhri* told you how the Apostle of Allah did say : *Men shall journey to but three Masjids (mosques, namely), Al Masjid Haram (at Makkah), my Masjid (at Madinah), and the Masjid of the Holy City (which is Jerusalem)?* So this last is now appointed for you (as a place of worship) in lieu of the Masjid al Haram (of Makkah). And this Rock (the Sakhrâh of Jerusalem), of which it is reported that upon it the Apostle of Allah set his foot when he ascended into heaven, shall be unto you in the place of the Ka'abah.’ Then 'Abd al Malik built above the Sakhrâh a Dome, and hung it around with curtains of brocade, and he instituted doorkeepers for the same, and the people took the custom of circumambulating the Rock (*as Sakhrâh* of Jerusalem), even as they had paced round the Ka'abah (at Makkah), and the usage continued thus all the days of the dynasty of the Omayyads.” (Yb. *Hist.*, ii. 11.)

* A celebrated traditionist, who was personally acquainted with many of the Prophet's Companions. He died in 124 (742), being seventy-two or more years old. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, De Slane's Translation, vol. ii., p. 581.

The above account, of itself, is sufficient to disprove the theory very skilfully argued by the late Mr. Fergusson, of which the cardinal idea was that this Dome of the Rock (and not the Church of the Sepulchre) represents and stands in the place of the Great Church erected by Constantine, over our Lord's tomb. Mr. Fergusson stated that he based his theory on historical data, as well as on arguments drawn from the architectural style of the building (which in his eyes was purely Byzantine), and he roundly asserted that "no Mohammedan writer of any sort, anterior to the recovery of the city from the Christians by Saladin, ventures to assert that his countrymen built the Dome of the Rock,"* a statement which can no longer stand, in view of the authority here quoted.

Mukaddasi, who wrote in the year 985, gives another version of the reasons which induced 'Abd al Malik to build the Dome over the Rock, which it may be well to quote at the present point. The paragraph occurs after the description of the Great Mosque at Damascus, which will be given later on (see Chapter VI.). Mukaddasi then continues :

"Now one day I said, speaking to my father's brother, 'O my uncle, verily it was not well of the Khalif al Walid to expend so much of the wealth of the Muslims on the Mosque at Damascus. Had he expended the same on making roads, or for caravanserais, or in the restoration of the Frontier Fortresses, it would have been more fitting and more excellent of him.' But my uncle said to me in answer, 'O my little son, thou hast not understanding ! Verily Al Walid was right, and he was prompted to a worthy work. For he beheld Syria to be a country that had long been occupied by the Christians, and he noted herein the beautiful churches still belonging to them, so enchantingly fair, and so renowned for their splendour, even as are the Kumâmah (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem), and the churches of Lydda and Edessa. So he sought to build for the Muslims a mosque that should prevent their regarding these, and that should be unique and a wonder to the world. And in like manner is it not evident how

* See his article on *Jerusalem* in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. i., p. 1030.

the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, noting the greatness of the Dome of the (Holy Sepulchre called) Al Kumâmah and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected above the Rock, the Dome which now is seen there?'"* (Muk., 159.)

That the Khalif 'Abd al Malik was the builder of the Dome of the Rock is further confirmed by the well-known inscription which may still be read above the cornice of the octagonal colonnade supporting the Cupola. Running round this is a magnificent Cufic script, in yellow on blue tiles, which must have been placed here by 'Abd al Malik at the time when his building was completed. It is dated A.H. 72 (691). Unfortunately, some of the tiles were apparently taken out about a century and a half later when, in the days of the Khalif al Mâmûn, son of Hârûn ar Rashîd, the Dome underwent restoration, and in their place other tiles, but of a darker blue, have been substituted, bearing the name of Al Mâmûn in place of that of 'Abd al Malik. This fraudulent substitution, or forgery, perpetrated presumably by the courtly architect of the Abbasides, stands, however, self-confessed—by the forgers having omitted to alter the date of 'Abd al Malik's reign, that is, the year 72 A.H. Al Mâmûn, whose name they have substituted immediately before this date, was only born in A.H. 170, and was Khalif from A.H. 198—218. Also, as noted above, the colouring of the newer tiles is of a darker tint, which does not correspond with the blue of the earlier tiles. Further, the inserted letters (of Al Mâmûn's name and titles), being too numerous for the space at command, have had to be closer set than are those in the original portions of the inscription. To make all this as clear as is possible to the English reader, the following translation of the inscription is printed in capitals to represent the square Cufic script. In this the three lines give the words as they stand at the present day. The letters placed closer together represent the forged part of the inscription in the Arabic, much crowded as to space, and written on the darker tiles. These have been substituted by the architects of Al Mâmûn. The letters

* See also p. 98, where Mukaddasi speaks again of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the Aksâ having been built to rival this in magnificence.

added below the second line indicate the inscription that probably stood in the place of these substituted tiles, the letters of 'Abd al Malik's name being spaced out to bring them even with those in the remainder of the inscription.*

"HATH BUILT THIS DOME THE SERVANT OF ALLAH
'ABD ALLAH THE IMÂM AL MÂMÛN COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL
D A L M A L I K C
IN THE YEAR TWO AND SEVENTY—ALLAH ACCEPT OF HIM!"

Another dated inscription has also been discovered in the Dome of the Rock, stamped on each of the bronze plates which are attached to the lintels above the four outer doors facing the cardinal points of the octagonal building. The date given is 216 A.H., corresponding to 831 A.D. These are also written in a fine Cufic script, and relate, in all probability, to the very restoration under Al Mâmûn's orders, during which the falsification just described of 'Abd al Malik's great tile-inscription was perpetrated. The inscription on the plates may be translated as follows:†

"According to what hath commanded the servant of Allah 'Abd Allah, the Imâm Al Mâmûn, the Commander of the Faithful—may Allah prolong his existence!—and under the governorship of the brother of the Commander of the Faithful, Abu Ishâk, the son of the Commander of the Faithful Ar Rashid—may Allah lengthen his (Abu Ishâk's) life! And it hath been accomplished at the hands of Sâlih ibn Yahya, Freedman of the Commander of the Faithful, in the month Rabi' al Âkhir of the year two hundred and sixteen."

Al Mâmûn reigned from 813 (198) to 833 (218), when he was succeeded by the brother here mentioned, Abu Ishâk, who, on becoming Khalif, took the name of Al Mu'tasim. Abu Ishâk lived on excellent terms with his brother, the Khalif Al Mâmûn, and,

* A beautiful chromo-lithographic facsimile of the original Cufic text of this inscription is given by M. de Vogüé on plate xxi. of his work *Le Temple de Jérusalem*. It is also printed (in the Cufic Character) on p. 88 of the volume on *Jerusalem*, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. A lithographic facsimile may also be seen on the plate facing p. 484 of the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. ix., *Huitième Série*, 1887.

† The text is given by M. de Vogüé, *Jérusalem*, p. 86.

during the very year given in the inscription, the Chronicles* relate that he commanded a body of troops in Al Mâmûn's expedition against the Greeks, and afterwards came with the Khalif to visit Damascus. It is not, however, stated that he was at that time Governor of Syria (as the inscription rather implies), but he was, probably, already the recognised heir-apparent, and, as such, doubtless, his name appears on these lintels.

The earliest detailed description of the Dome of the Rock, is that left us by Ibn al Fakîh in the year 903 (290). As will be seen from the Plan of the Haram Area (at the end of Chapter IV.), the octagonal building supporting the Dome stands at about the centre-point of a square-shaped platform. This platform is of a man's height above the general level of the court of the Haram Area, and is ascended by stairways. On the platform, besides the Dome of the Rock, stand several other very much smaller Domes. The description of these will be given in more detail at a later page. (See Chapter IV.)

Ibn al Fakîh speaks of all these edifices in the following terms :

"In the middle of the Haram Area is a platform, measuring 300 ells in length, by 140 ells across, and its height is 9 ells. It has six flights of stairways, leading up to the Dome of the Rock. The Dome rises in the middle of this platform. The ground-plan of the same measures 100 ells by 100, its height is 70 ells, and its circumference is 360 ells. In the Dome every night they light 300 lamps. It has four gates roofed over, and at each gate are four doors, and over each gate is a portico of marble. The stone of the Rock measures 34 ells by 27 ells, and under the Rock is a cavern in which the people pray. This cavern is capable of containing sixty-two persons. (The edifice of) the Dome is covered with white marble, and its roof with red gold. In its walls, and high in (the drum), are fifty-six windows (*bâb*), glazed with glass of various hues; each measures 6 ells in the height, by 6 spans across. The Dome, which was built by 'Abd al Malik ibn Marwân is supported on twelve piers and thirty pillars. It consists of a dome over a dome (that is, an inner and an outer), on which are sheets of lead and white marble (below).

* Ibn al Athîr, vi. 295.

“To the east of the Dome of the Rock stands the Dome of the Chain. It is supported by twenty marble columns, and its roof is covered with sheets of lead. In front of it (again to the east), is the Praying Station of Al Khidr (St. George or Elias). The platform occupies the middle of the Haram Area. To the north is the Dome of the Prophet, and the Station of Gabriel; near the Rock is the Dome of the Ascension.” (I. F., 100, 101.)

With this description of the year 903, the Dome of the Rock as it now stands, tallies to a remarkable degree. The ell then in use was that known as the *Dhirâ' Maliki*, or royal ell, which may be estimated as approximately equivalent to 18 inches. The perimeter of the octagonal walls stated at 360 ells, gives 45 ells, or $67\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the length of each face of the octagon; the measurement to-day is 66 feet.

The measurement of 100 ells by the like, for the ground-plan, corresponds fairly well also, since the space between the thresholds of the opposite doors, north and south, or east and west, measures almost exactly 150 feet.

The height, given at 70 ells, or 105 feet, shows that the Dome was in these early times of much the same height as is the present one, built after the earthquakes, which measures 112 feet from floor to pinnacle. The four gates and their porticos are exactly what is found at the present day, as also is the Rock itself and the Cavern below it. A more remarkable coincidence is afforded by the number of the windows mentioned by Ibn al Fakih. In the present edifice there are sixteen stained-glass windows, pierced in the drum under the Dome, and below this are five openings in each of the eight side-walls forming the octagon. This (5 times 8 added to 16) gives fifty-six for total, the exact number mentioned by Ibn al Fakih as existing in the year 903.

In the matter of the columns supporting the Dome, some change in the number and arrangement, appears to have taken place at various times since the year 903, probably during the many restorations after the shocks of earthquake.

The twelve piers mentioned still exist as described by Ibn al Fakih, a reference to the present plan (facing p. 114) showing four piers in the inner circle supporting the Dome, and eight in the outer

circle marking the angles of the octagon. The number of the minor pillars, however, is not so exact. At the present day there are three pillars between each of the four piers of the inner circle, and two pillars between each of the eight piers of the outer circle. This gives a total for the present pillars of twenty-eight, and Ibn al Fakih says there were thirty in his day. The difference, however, is not very material.

On this subject of the number of the piers and pillars, it may be well to note the details given by the Spanish Arab Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, who wrote about this same period (*circa* A.H. 300, A.D. 913). He states that "within the Sakhrâh (or Dome of the Rock) are thirty columns, and the columns which are without (*khârij*, presumably meaning 'round') the Sakhrâh (or Rock) are eighteen in number." There is, however, some ambiguity in the term *khârij*, and the numbers agree neither with those given by Ibn al Fakih, his contemporary, nor with those seen at the present day, as shown in the plan (facing p. 114).

The dimensions Ibn al Fakih gives for the Platform, and his description of the other minor Domes standing on this Platform, will be noticed on a subsequent page. (See Chapter IV.)

Next in order comes the account of the Dome of the Rock left by Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, three-quarters of a century after the time of Ibn al Fakih. This description of the year 978 has been copied verbatim by the geographer Abu-l-Fidâ in his account of Palestine written in 1321; and it may be cited as an instance of the uncritical way in which Arab writers plagiarise each from his predecessors. Ibn Haukal and Istakhri write:

"The Holy City is nearly as large as Al Ramlah (the capital of the province of Filastin). It is a city perched high on the hills, and you have to go up to it from all sides. There is here a Mosque, a greater than which does not exist in all Islam. The Main-building (which is the Aksâ Mosque) occupies the south-eastern angle of the Mosque (Area, or Noble Sanctuary), and covers about half the breadth of the same. The remainder of the Haram Area is left free, and is nowhere built over, except in the part around the Rock. At this place there has been raised a stone (terrace) like a platform, of great unhewn blocks, in

the centre of which, covering the Rock, is a magnificent Dome. The Rock itself is about breast-high above the ground, its length and breadth being almost equal, that is to say, some 10 ells* and odd, by the same across. You may descend below it by steps, as though going down to a cellar, passing through a door measuring some 5 ells by 10. The chamber below the Rock is neither square nor round, and is above a man's stature in height." (Is., 56; I. H., 111; A. F., 227.)

Mukaddasi, a native of Jerusalem, whose account (985) dates from a few years later than the above by Ibn Haukal, taken with that left by the Persian traveller Nâsir, who visited the Holy City in 1047, gives us a detailed and graphic picture of the Dome of the Rock in the century preceding the arrival of the first Crusaders. Mukaddasi, immediately after the description of the Aksâ Mosque quoted above (pp. 98, 99), writes as follows :

"The Court (of the Haram Area) is paved in all parts ; in its centre rises a Platform, like that in the Mosque at Al Madînah, to which, from all four sides, ascend broad flights of steps. On this Platform stand four Domes. Of these, the Dome of the Chain, the Dome of the Ascension, and the Dome of the Prophet are of small size. Their domes are covered with sheet-lead, and are supported on marble pillars, being without walls.

"In the centre of the Platform is the Dome of the Rock, which rises above an octagonal building having four gates, one opposite to each of the flights of steps leading up from the Court. These four are the Kiblah (or southern) Gate ; the Gate of (the Angel) Isrâfil (to the east) ; the Gate As Sûr (or of the Trumpet), to the north ; and the Women's Gate (Bâb an Nisâ), which last opens towards the west. All these are adorned with gold, and closing each of them is a beautiful door of cedar-wood finely worked in patterns. These last were sent hither by command of the mother of the Khalif Al Muktadir-billah.† Over each of the gates is a porch of marble, wrought with cedar-wood, with brass-work without ; and in this porch, likewise, are doors, but these are unornamented.

* Too low an estimate.

† He reigned at Baghdad, 908 to 932.

“Within the building are three concentric colonnades, with columns of the most beautiful marble, polished, that can be seen, and above is a low vaulting. Inside these (colonnades) is the central hall over the Rock; it is circular, not octagonal, and is surrounded by columns of polished marble supporting circular arches. Built above these, and rising high into the air, is the drum, in which are large windows; and over the drum is the Dome. The Dome, from the floor up to the pinnacle, which rises into the air, is in height 100 ells. From afar off you may perceive on the summit of the Dome the beautiful pinnacle (set thereon), the size of which is a fathom and a span. The Dome, externally, is completely covered with brass plates gilt, while the building itself, its floor, and its walls, and the drum, both within and without, are ornamented with marble and mosaics, after the manner that we shall describe* when speaking of the Mosque of Damascus. The Cupola of the Dome is built in three sections; the inner is of ornamental panels. Next come iron beams interlaced, set in free, so that the wind may not cause the Cupola to shift; and the third casing is of wood, on which are fixed the outer plates. Up through the middle of the Cupola goes a passage-way, by which a workman may ascend to the pinnacle for aught that may be wanting, or in order to repair the structure. At the dawn, when the light of the sun first strikes on the Cupola, and the Drum reflects his rays, then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, and one such that in all Islam I have never seen the equal: neither have I heard tell of aught built in pagan times that could rival in grace this Dome of the Rock.” (Muk., 169, 170.)

Between the times of Mukaddasi and Nâsir, the Holy City suffered severely from shocks of earthquake, as reported in the Chronicle of Ibn al Athîr (see above, p. 101), and in the year 1016 (407), as there stated, the Dome over the Rock fell in. The dates of the repairs subsequently undertaken are recorded by two extant inscriptions in the Cupola, the first of which is of a tenor that recalls the one that was read and copied in the Dome of the Aksâ Mosque by 'Ali of Herat (see above, p. 102).

The Holy City had since the year 969 been in the possession of

* See Chapter VI.

the Khalif of Cairo, and it was the Fatimite Adh Dhâhir who ordered the restorations which were completed in 1022 (413) and 1027 (418), and which are referred to in the two following inscriptions.

The first is written in the ancient Karmatic characters, and is to be seen on a beam in the framework of the Dome. M. de Vogüé has given a facsimile of this inscription on plate xxxvii. of his work, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*. The following is a translation :

"In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Verily he who believeth in Allah restoreth the Mosques of Allah. Hath commanded the restoration of this Dome, the Imâm Abu-l-Hasan 'Ali adh Dhâhir-li-'Izâz-ad-Dîn-Allah, the son of Al Hâkim-bi-Amr-illah, Commander of the Faithful—the benediction of Allah be upon him, and on his most pure and generous forefathers! This was executed at the hand of his servant the Amir, the supporter of the Imâms, the sustainer of the State, 'Ali ibn Ahmad Inâbat Allah, in the year 413 (A.D. 1022). May Allah perpetuate the glory and the stability of our Master, the Commander of the Faithful, giving him kingship over the east and the west of the earth, for Him we praise at the beginning and the ending of all actions!"

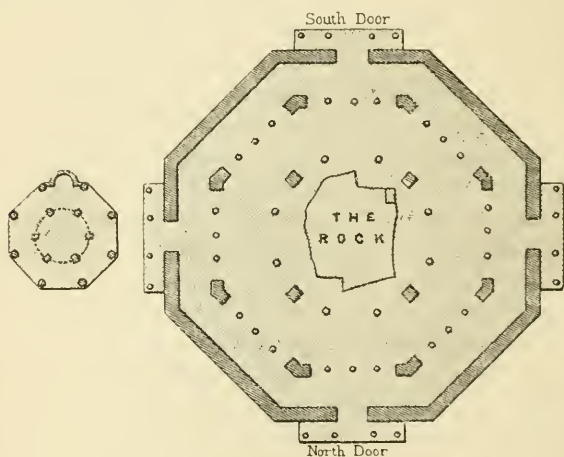
The second inscription is to be seen inside the Dome of the Rock on the tile-work. It is unfortunately much mutilated, but the last few words are plainly legible. M. de Vogüé (*Jérusalem*, Plate xxiii.) has reproduced it in chromolithograph. The letters are yellow on the dark green ground of the enamelled tile. The last words may be translated :

" . . . in the year four hundred and eighteen."

A.H. 418 corresponds with A.D. 1027, which would lead us to suppose that these tiles were put up to replace those damaged by the earthquakes.

Nâsir-i-Khusrau's account, describing what he saw during his visit to Jerusalem in 1047, is the last we possess prior to the Crusades. It must be noted that the "cubit," or "ell" (as the Persian measures *Arsh* and *Gez* are here rendered), is not the *Dhirâ' Maliki*, the royal ell, of 18 inches, but the later Arab ell, equivalent to about 2 feet English measure. At this valuation, Nâsir's measurements will be found to agree wonderfully exactly

with those of the present Dome of the Rock. The arrangement and number of the "piers" and "columns" described by Nâsir does not, however, coincide with those seen at the present day. Nâsir gives—inner circle: four piers, with two columns (eight in all) between each; outer circle: eight piers, with three columns (twenty-four in all) between each pier. At the present day there are, on the contrary, three columns between each of the four piers of the inner circle, and two only between each of the eight piers in the outer ring. (See plan facing p. 114.) Hence Nâsir's total of the columns (not counting piers) is thirty-two, while the present number is twenty-eight. (See also above, p. 121.)



DOME OF THE CHAIN AND DOME OF THE ROCK,
SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PIERS AND COLUMNS, ACCORDING
TO THE DESCRIPTION OF NÂSIR-İ-KHUSRAU, IN 1047 A D

After describing the Aksâ Mosque, Nâsir continues:

"The Kubbat as Sakhrâh (the Dome of the Rock)—which Rock was, of old, the Kiblah—is so situate as to stand in the middle of the platform, which itself occupies the middle of the Haram Area. The edifice is built in the form of a regular octagon, and each of its eight sides measures 33 cubits (or 66 feet). There are four gates facing the four cardinal points—namely, east, west,

north, and south ; and between each of these is one of the oblique sides of the octagon. The walls are everywhere constructed of squared stones, and are 20 cubits (or 40 feet in height). The Rock itself measures 100 ells round. It has no regular form, being neither square nor circular ; but is shapeless, like a boulder from the mountains. Beyond the four sides of the Rock rise four piers of masonry that equal in height the walls of the (octagonal) building ; and between every two piers, on the four sides, stand a pair of marble pillars, which are like to the height of the piers. Resting on these twelve piers and pillars is the structure of the Dome, under which lies the Rock ; and the circumference of the Dome is 120 cubits (or 240 feet).*

“Between the walls of the (octagonal) building, and the circle of piers and pillars—and by the term ‘pier’ (*sutún*) I understand a support that is built up, and is square ; while the term ‘pillar’ (*ustuwânah*) denotes a support that is cut from a single block of stone, and is round—between this inner circle of supports, then, and the outer walls of the edifice, are built eight† other piers of squared stones, and between every two of them are placed, equidistant, three columns in coloured marble. Thus, while in the inner circle between every two piers there are two columns, there are here (in the outer circle) between every two piers, three columns. On the capital of each pier are set four volutes (*shâkh*), from each of which springs an arch ; and on the capital of each column are set two volutes, so that every column is the spring of two arches, while at every pier is the spring of four.

“The Great Dome, which rises above the twelve piers standing round the Rock, can be seen from the distance of a league away,

* From the very exact plans in M. de Vogüé's *Jérusalem*, the full diameter of the drum of the Dome appears to be 23 metres, or 75½ feet. This gives a circumference of 237 feet, which agrees very well with the 120 cubits, 240 feet of the text.

† The British Museum MS. and M. Schefer's text both give “six” as the number of piers in the outer circle, but this neither corresponds with what follows some lines below (where the total number of piers in the outer and inner circles is stated to be twelve, *i.e.*, four *plus* eight), nor with the actual condition of the Dome of the Rock, which apparently never had more than four piers in the inner, and eight in the outer circle, a number necessitated by the octagonal shape of the building.

rising like the summit of a mountain. From the base of the Dome to its pinnacle measures 30 cubits, and this rises above the (octagonal) walls that are 20 ells high, for the Dome is supported on the pillars that are like in height to the outer walls; and the whole building rises on a platform that itself is 12 ells high, so that from the level of the Court of the Noble Sanctuary to the summit of the Dome measures a total of 62 ells (or 124 feet).^{*} The roofing and the ceiling of this edifice are both in woodwork; this is set above the piers, and the pillars, and the walls, after a fashion not to be seen elsewhere. The Rock itself rises out of the floor to the height of a man, and a balustrade of marble goes round about it, in order that none may lay his hand thereon. The Rock inclines on the side that is towards the Kiblah (or south), and there is an appearance as though a person had walked heavily on the stone when it was soft like clay, whereby the imprint of his toes had remained thereon. There are on the Rock seven such footmarks, and I heard it stated that Abraham—peace be upon him!—was once here with Isaac—upon him be peace!—when he was a boy, and that he walked over this place, and that the footmarks were his.

“In the house of the Dome of the Rock men are always congregated—pilgrims and worshippers. The place is laid with fine carpets of silk and other stuffs. In the middle of the Dome, and over the Rock, there hangs from a silver chain a silver lamp; and there are in other parts of the building great numbers of silver lamps, on each of which is inscribed its weight. These lamps are all the gift of the (Fatimite Khalif, who is) Sultan of Egypt; and, according to the calculations I made, there must be here in silver utensils of various kinds of the weight of a thousand Manns (or about a ton and a half). I saw there a huge wax taper that was 7 cubits high, and 3 spans in diameter. It was (white) like the

^{*} I note this as the principal passage for proving that Nâsir-i-Khusrau uses the terms *gez*, “ell,” and *arsh*, “cubit,” synonymously. On a previous page he has said that the platform is twelve *arsh* high; here he says it measures twelve *gez*, and this added to twenty *gez* (walls) and to thirty *arsh* (dome) makes sixty-two *gez*. The height of the Dome of the Rock at the present day, measuring from floor to summit of dome, is, roughly, 112 feet. Nâsir estimates it (deducting the height of the platform) at 50 ells or cubits, equivalent to 100 feet.

camphor of Zibâj,* and the (wax) was mixed with ambergris. They told me that the Sultan of Egypt sent hither every year a great number of tapers, and, among the rest, the large one just described, on which the name of the Sultan was written in golden letters.

“As I have said before, all the roof and the exterior parts of the Dome of the Rock are covered with lead. At each of the four sides of the Dome of the Rock is set a great gate, with double folding-doors of Sâj-wood (or teak). These doors are always kept closed. They say that on the night of his ascent into Heaven, the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—prayed first in the Dome of the Rock, laying his hand upon the Rock. And as he came forth, the Rock, to do him honour, rose up, but the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—laid his hand thereon to keep it in its place, and firmly fixed it there. But, by reason of this uprising, even to the present day, it is here partly detached (from the ground below). The Prophet—the peace of Allah be upon him, and His benediction!—went on thence and came to the Dome, which is now called after him, and there he mounted (the steed) Burâk; and for this reason is that Dome venerated. Underneath the Rock is a large cavern, where they continually burn tapers; and they say that when the Rock moved in order to rise up (in honour of the Prophet), this space below was left void, and that when the Rock became fixed, it so remained, even as may now be seen.” (N. Kh., 44-50.)

Of the Rock itself, Nâsir gives the following account:

“This stone, of the Sakhrâh, is that which God—be He exalted and glorified!—commanded Moses to institute as the Kiblah (or direction to be faced at prayer). After this command had come down, and Moses had instituted the Sakhrâh as the Kiblah; he himself lived but a brief time, for of a sudden was his life cut short. Then came the days of Solomon—upon him be peace!—who, seeing that the Rock of the Sakhrâh was the Kiblah-point, built a Mosque round about the Rock, whereby the Rock stood in the midst of the Mosque, which became

* Zibâj, or Zâbij, according to the author of the *Marâsid*, is the name of the country in the further parts of India, on the frontiers of China, *i.e.*, Cochin China (?).

the oratory of the people. So it remained down to the days of our Prophet Muhammad, the Chosen One—upon him be blessings and peace!—who likewise at first recognised this Rock to be the Kiblah, turning towards it at his prayers; but God—be He exalted and glorified!—afterwards (in the month Rajab of the second year of the Hijrah) commanded him to institute as the Kiblah the House of the Ka'abah (at Makkah)." (N. Kh., 27.)

The Author of the *Muthir*, writing in 1351, notes the occurrence of what he deemed a remarkable event, which happened a few years after Nâsir's visit. He writes:*

"In the year 452 (A.D. 1060) the Great Lantern (*Tannûr*) that hung in the Dome of the Rock fell down, and there were in this Lantern five hundred lamps. Those of the Muslims who were at Jerusalem augured therefrom, saying, 'Of a surety there will happen some portentous event in Islam.'"

In 1099 the Crusaders took Jerusalem, and the Dome of the Rock, considered by them to be the *Templum Domini*, passed to the Knights Templar. Holding this building to be the veritable Temple of the Lord, its figure was emblazoned by the Knights on their armorial bearings, and in both plan and elevation the edifice came to be reproduced by the Templars in the various Temple Churches which the Order caused to be built in London, Laôn, Metz, and other cities throughout Europe. In Raphael's famous picture of the *Sposalizio*, preserved in the Brera Gallery at Milan, the Spousals of the Virgin are represented as taking place before the Gate of the Temple, which Temple is a fairly exact representation of the polygon of the Dome of the Rock.

The Sicilian geographer Idrîsî, in 1154, gives a short description of the Dome; but he himself had never visited Palestine, and he most probably made up his account from descriptions dating from the beginning of the eleventh century.

He writes: "In the centre of the (Court of the) Mosque rises the mighty Dome, known as the Kubbat as Sakhrâh (the Dome of

* The Arabic text is given in my paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, vol. xix., p. 304. This paragraph is copied verbatim by Suyûti (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. cit., p. 287), and also by Mujîr ad Din (Cairo Text, p. 270). The Chronicles, it may be noted, mention no earthquake as occurring in this year.

the Rock). This Dome is overlaid with gold mosaic, and is of most beautiful workmanship, erected by the Muslim Khalifs. In its midst is the Rock (the Sakhrâh), which is said to have fallen down (from heaven). It is a mass of stone of the height of the Platform, and occupies the centre under the Dome. The extremity of one of its sides rises above the floor to half a man's height or more, while the other side lies even with the level (of the Platform). The length of the Rock is nearly equal to its breadth, and is some 10 ells and odd by the like. You may descend into the lower part thereof, and go down into a dark chamber, like a cellar, the length of which is 10 ells, by 5 in width, and the ceiling reaches above a man's height. No one can enter this chamber except with a lamp to light him. The Dome (of the Rock) has four Gates. The Western Gate has opposite to it an Altar, whereon the Children of Israel were wont to offer up their sacrifices. Near the Eastern Gate of the Dome is the Church, which is called the Holy of Holies—it is of an admirable size. Opposite to the Northern Gate (of the Dome of the Rock) is a beautiful Garden, planted with all sorts of trees, and round this Garden is set a colonnade of marble of most wondrous workmanship. In the further part of this Garden is a place of assembly, where the priests and deacons are wont to take their repasts." (Id., 7.)

This Garden of the Priests, mentioned also by 'Ali of Herat (see p. 133), is, doubtless, the House of the Augustinian Canons established here by Godfrey de Bouillon. Perhaps this may have occupied the site of the "Cloister of the Sûfis" mentioned by Nâsir-i-Khusrau in 1047 (see Chapter V., Gates of the Haram Area). The Church of the Holy of Holies is the building the Muslims call the Dome of the Chain, of which a description will be given in the following chapter. The Altar of the Children of Israel is apparently of Christian invention, and corresponds to no Muslim edifice; it is mentioned in the *Citez de Jherusalem** (about 1225), and by other Christian writers, one of whom states that the Saracens ultimately turned it into a sundial.

'Ali of Herat, who visited the Holy City in 1173, fifteen years

* *Palestine Pilgrims' Text*, p. 37.

before it was retaken by Saladin, has left us a full description of what he saw in the Dome of the Rock. He notes the iron railing put round the Rock by the Crusaders in place of the marble balustrade mentioned by Nâsir-i-Khusrau. Portions of this iron "grille" still exist, and an illustration depicting it will be found in M. de Vogüé's *Jérusalem*. The chamber under the Rock 'Ali calls "The Cave of the Souls." The present tradition asserts that the *Bîr al Arwâh*, "The Well of the Souls," is not this chamber, but a well hollowed in the rock below its pavement. 'Ali's description of the Dome represents exactly what is seen at the present day, the detail of the arrangement and number of the piers and columns, in the inner and outer circle, supporting the Dome, as given in his text, being identical with what is shown in the present plan. The earlier accounts, it will be remembered, varied on these points of detail. When the alteration occurred is unknown. The ell with which 'Ali of Herat takes his measurements is presumably the royal ell of 18 inches, or somewhat less.

'Ali of Herat writes: "The Kubbat as Sakhrâh (meaning the Rock under the Dome) has upon it the (imprint of) the footmark of the Prophet. Now I went and saw the Rock in the days of the Frank dominion, and what was to be seen of it then lay in the north part of the Dome only. Round it was a railing of iron. At the present time, since Saladin's reconquest of the Holy City, the Rock appears to the south also, under the Dome. There is all around, below it, a border, which is covered with enamelled-work. The Rock is here a span in breadth, and its height is of 2 ells. Its circumference is over 4 ells. Underneath the Rock is the Cave of the Souls (*Mughârat al Arwâh*). They say that Allah will bring together the souls of all True Believers to this spot. You descend to this Cave by some fourteen steps, and they state that the grave of Zakariyyah—peace be upon him!—is here in this Cave. The Cave of the Souls is of the height of a man. Its width extends 11 paces from east to west, and 13 paces from north to south. In its roof is an aperture towards the east, the size of which is an ell and a half across. The circumference of the Cavern is 5 ells. The building of the Dome of the Rock has four doors, and I visited the place in the year 569 (1173),

during the time of the Frank dominion, as before stated. Opposite the door leading to the Cave of the Souls, and near to the iron railing, was, in these days, a picture of Solomon, son of David. Also near to the iron railing, and to the west of the Leaden Gate, but above it, was the picture of the Messiah all studded over with jewels.

“The Gate (of the Dome of the Rock) to the east opens towards the Dome of the Chain. Above it is an arch, on which is inscribed the name of the Khalif Al Kâim-bi-Amr-illah, and the chapter (cxii., of the Kurân), called Ikhâlâs—that is, ‘Sincerity.’ To the east of the Dome of the Rock is, as aforesaid, the Dome of the Chain; it is here Solomon, the son of David, administered justice. To the north of the Dome of the Rock was the House of the Priests (*Dâr al Kusâs*), which building is supported on columns.* The (octagonal) Colonnade round the Dome of the Rock is supported on sixteen columns of marble, and on eight piers; and the Dome within this is supported on four piers and twelve columns. In the circumference (of the Drum) are sixteen grated windows. The circumference of the Dome is 160 ells (240 feet). The perimeter of the great edifice which comprehends all these (pillars, and the Dome, and which is the octagonal building), measures 400 ells minus 16 ells (384 ells, or 576 feet). A line going round the whole building (of the Dome of the Rock), and including the Dome of the Chain and what pertains thereto of other buildings, would measure 482 ells (or 723 feet). The height of the iron grating which surrounds the Rock is twice that of a man. There are four iron gates to the Dome of the Rock—one (north) towards the Bâb ar Rahmah (Gate of Mercy, the ancient Golden Gate); one (west) towards the Bâb Jibrail; one towards the Kiblah (south); and one (east) towards the Dome of the Chain. The Dome of the Chain measures 60 paces round.” (A. H., Oxf. MSS., ff. 35-38.)

In 1187 Jerusalem was retaken by Saladin, who, as has been described above (p. 109), effected a complete restoration of the Haram Area to its pristine condition. Of the state into which the Rock had come through the zeal of the Franks for the

* See p. 131.

acquisition of relics, the Chronicle of Ibn al Athîr gives the following account under the year 583 A.H. Possibly the "border" described by 'Ali of Herat as running all round the Rock (see above, p. 132) is the covering of pavement which Saladin ordered to be removed.

Ibn al Athîr writes: "Now the Franks had covered the Rock with a marble pavement, and this Saladin ordered to be removed. And the reason whereby they had thus covered it with a pavement was this: In the earlier times their priests had been used to (break off and) sell pieces of the Rock to the Frank (pilgrims) who came from beyond the sea on pilgrimage; for these would buy the same for its weight in gold, believing that there lay therein a blessing. But seeing this, certain of the (Latin) kings, fearing lest the Rock should all disappear, ordered that it should be paved over to keep it safe." (Ibn al Athîr, ix. 365.)

After Saladin had completed his restoration, he set up inside the cupola of the Dome, above the Rock, a beautiful inscription in tile-work on a series of bands and medallions, which may still be seen *in situ*. The Arabic text of this long inscription, of which the following is a translation, will be found in M. de Vogüé's work,* so often referred to. The text does not run continuously: but the following numbers (referring to the paragraphs of the translation) show the order in which the bands and medallions—running, of course, from right to left, following the Arabic writing—stand each to the other inside the Drum below the cupola. Besides Saladin's inscription, there are also two others, set up at a much later date, in the spaces at first left vacant.

13. 12. 7. 11. 6. 10. 5. 9. 16. 8. 4. 3. 15. 2. 14. 1.

1. *"In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, hath commanded the renewal of the gilding of this*
2. *Noble Dome, our Master the Sultan, the victorious King,*
3. *the sage, the just Salâh ad Dîn Yûsuf,*
4. *In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful*
5. *. . . in the latter third of the month Rajab of the year 585,*
6. *by the hand of God's poor servitor Salâh ad Dîn*
7. *Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb ibn Shâdi, may Allah encompass him in His mercy!"*

* *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, pp. 91, 92.

It will be convenient to add here the translations of the two other inscriptions, which are found on the bands and medallions, interspersed with Saladin's great inscription. The first of these commemorates the restoration by order of the Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt, Muhammad ibn Kalâ'ûn, in A.H. 718 and 719 (1318 and 1319). The second was set up in our own days by the Sultan of Turkey, Mahmûd II. The tiles containing the date of this last inscription have been injured, and only the centuries (12** A.H.) can be read. Sultan Mahmûd II. reigned from A.H. 1223—1255 (1808—1839).

8. *"Hath commanded the renewal of the gilding of this Dome, together with the restoration of the outer Dome of lead*
9. *Our Master . . . Nâsir ad Dunyâ wa ad Dîn,*
10. *the Sultan of the world, who stablisheth the pillars of the noble Law,*
11. *the Sultan of Islam, Muhammad the son of the Sultan and Martyr*
12. *Al Mâlik Al Mansûr Kalâ'ûn, may Allah encompass him in His mercy! And this (restoration took place) during the months of the year 718*
13. *And it was done under the superintendence of the poor servitor of Allah—be He exalted!—the assiduous, noble*
14. *and illustrious Jawâlî, Inspector of the Two Noble Sanctuaries,—*
15. *May Allah give him pardon! And this in the year 719"*
16. *"Hath commanded the gilding of this Dome, and the restoration of the external Dome, our Master the Sultan Mahmûd Khan. In the year 12**"*

The traveller Ibn Batûtah, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1355, gives but few new details of the Dome of the Rock. He expatiates on the marvellous beauty of the building, and notes the four great gates and the interior of the Dome, ornamented with gilding and colours. After describing the Rock, and mentioning the cavern below it, he continues, "Round the rock there are two gratings set here to guard it. Of these the one nearest the Rock

is of iron, the other of wood. In the Dome there is hung up a great Buckler of iron, and the people say this was the Buckler of Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Mutallib (the uncle of the Prophet)." (I. B., i. 122, 123.)

Mujir ad Din states that, in the year 1448 (851), the roof of the Dome of the Rock was destroyed by fire, and was restored by Sultan al Malik adh Dhâhir, "so as to be more beautiful even than it had been aforesaid." (M. a. D., 443.) The cause of the fire is said by some authorities to have been a thunderbolt, which fell in the southern part of the edifice. Others state that the building was set on fire by a boy, who had gone under the roof with a candle to catch some pigeons.

Suyûti, writing in 1470, gives the following account of the Rock, and the wonders shown in its vicinity: "The Footprint seen here is that of the Prophet when he mounted the steed Al Burak to ascend into heaven. In Crusading times it was called Christ's Footprint. The Tongue is said to have been given to the Rock when it addressed the Khalif 'Omar in welcome; and the Marks of the angel Gabriel's Fingers are those left when the Rock, wishing to accompany the Prophet to heaven, had to be pushed down and kept in its place.

"The place of the Noble Footprint may be seen at this day on a stone that is separate from the Rock, and opposite to it, on the further side, which is to the south-west. This stone is supported on a column. The Rock, at this present day, forms the walls enclosing the cave (that is, beneath it) on all sides, except only the part which lies to the south, where is the opening into the Cave. The Rock here does not come up to the south side of the Cave, for between the two is an open space. From the entrance down into the Cave lead stone steps for descending thereto. On these stairs is a small shelf, near where the pilgrims stop to visit the Tongue of the Rock. At this spot is a marble column, the lower part of which rests on the south portion of the shelf aforesaid, while its upper part abuts against the Rock, as though to prevent its giving way towards the south—or maybe it is for some other purpose—and the portion of the Rock that lies below supports it. The Place of the Angel's Fingers is on the western side of the

Rock, and is distinct from the Place of the Noble Footstep already mentioned. It lies close to, and over against, the western gate of the Sakhrâh (or Dome of the Rock)." (S., 258; copied by M. a. D., 371.)

All these various marvels are shown in the Dome of the Rock at the present day, and occupy the same positions as they did in 1470 when Suyûti wrote.

In conclusion, the following measurements are of some interest. They are given by Mujîr ad Dîn, and appear to have been carefully taken by him at the time when he wrote his description of Jerusalem in 1496. The "workman's ell," as before stated, measures somewhat over $2\frac{1}{3}$ feet.

"The building of the Dome of the Rock is octagonal. The outer perimeter is 240 ells, while the inner is 224 ells, measuring with the workman's ell.

"The Dome is 51 ells high, measured from the pavement to the summit. The Platform, on which the Dome of the Rock stands, is 7 ells above the level of the Court; thus the summit of the Dome is 58 ells above the Area of the Noble Sanctuary. The Dome is supported by twelve pillars and by four piers (in the inner ring)." (M. a. D., 370, 371.)

CHAPTER IV.

JERUSALEM.

Traditional Accounts : 'Omar's finding of the Rock—The Service instituted by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik.

The Dome of the Chain : Minor domes—The platform and stairways—The Court and the Haram Area—The Cradle of Jesus and Stables of Solomon—Minor buildings—Minarets.

TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS.

IN the preceding chapter, the history of the Dome of the Rock and the Aksâ Mosque has been recounted from the earliest available Arab sources, namely, the Chronicles and Geographies (dating from the third and fourth centuries of the Hijrah), and the accounts of the first Muslim pilgrims, who described their visits to Jerusalem. With the foregoing it will be found interesting to compare the traditional accounts (apocryphal in detail, and probably first reduced to writing at a period subsequent to the Crusades), which profess to give detailed notices of the Khalif 'Omar's re-discovery of the Rock, and of the services instituted by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik after he had erected the Dome over it. These accounts, as far as I have been able to discover, are first given in the work called the *Muthîr al Ghiram* (see p. 11), which was composed in 1351 (752), close on seven hundred years after the days of 'Abd al Malik, and considerably over the seven centuries after the date of 'Omar. The author of the *Muthîr* wrote in the period succeeding the Crusades, when the Franks had recently been ejected from the Holy Land ; and at this date, what may be called Historical Romances (as, for instance, the "History" of the Pseudo-Wâkidi, and others), were much in vogue throughout the countries that Saladin and his successors had so recently liberated

from the Frank dominion. The reconquest of Palestine by Saladin, recalled the incidents of the first Muslim conquest under 'Omar; and possibly there were still, in the fourteenth century, some historical traditions which may have formed the groundwork on which the following narratives were composed.

There is, as will be observed, in the *Muthîr*, a learned affectation of citing authorities, giving the account as on the authority of so-and-so, who had it from his father, and his grandfather, who heard so-and-so relate, etc., etc. This, however, is merely the usual Arab way of citing the tradition, and in the present case practically means nothing, since no authority can be found for these stories earlier than the author of the *Muthîr* himself. These accounts, as given in the *Muthîr*, have been freely plagiarised by succeeding writers. Shams ad Dîn Suyûti (1470) quoted from the *Muthîr* verbatim, and Mujîr ad Din, in 1496, copied out the whole once again, adding here and there some few amplifications.* In the following pages the order of the paragraphs in the *Muthîr* is not kept to, the narrative in my translation being arranged to suit the sequence of events.

'Omar's Conquest. (*Muthîr*, chapter v.†)—“Al Walid ‡ states on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al 'Azîz, that the letter of the Prophet had come to the Kaisar (Cæsar) while he was sojourning at the Holy City.§ Now at that time there was over the Rock of the Holy City a great dunghheap, which completely masked the Mihrâb of David, and which same the Christians had put here in order to offend the Jews, and further, even, the Christian women were wont to throw here their cloths and clouts, so that it was all heaped up therewith. Now, when Cæsar had

* The Arabic text, taken from the Paris MSS. of the *Muthîr*, of which the following is a translation, is printed in my paper on Suyûti in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xix., part ii., where the whole subject of the *Muthîr*'s authorities will be found discussed at length.

† Quoted by S., 278.

‡ Al Walid ibn Muslim, on whose authority most of these accounts rest, was a celebrated traditionist, a native of Damascus, and died aged seventy-three (according to Nawâwi, Wüstenfeld's Text, p. 618) in A.H. 194 or 195 (810).

§ In the seventh year of the Hijrah, the Prophet despatched envoys to the Chosroes (Khusrû Parwîz) of Persia, and to the Cæsar of Byzantium, calling on them forthwith to acknowledge his mission as Allah's Apostle.

perused the letter of the Prophet, he cried and said : ‘ O, ye men of Greece, verily ye are the people who shall be slain on this dungheap, because that ye have desecrated the sanctity of this Mosque. And it shall be with you even as it was with the Children of Israel, who were slain for reason of the blood of Yahyâ ibn Zakariyyâ (John the Baptist).’ Then the Cæsar commanded them to clear the place, and so they began to do : but when the Muslims invaded Syria, only a third part thereof had been cleared. Now, when ‘Omar had come to the Holy City and conquered it, and saw how there was a dungheap over the Rock, he regarded it as horrible, and ordered that it should be entirely cleared. And to accomplish this they forced the Nabathæans of Palestine to labour without pay. On the authority of Jabîr ibn Nafir, it is related that when ‘Omar first exposed the Rock to view by removing the dungheap, he commanded them not to pray there until three showers of heavy rain should have fallen.”

“It is related as coming from Shadâd ibn Aus, who accompanied ‘Omar when he entered the noble Sanctuary of the Holy City on the day when Allah caused it to be reduced by capitulation, that ‘Omar entered by the Gate of Muhammad, crawling on his hands and knees, he and all those who were with him, until he came up to the Court (of the Sanctuary). There he looked around to right and to left, and, glorifying Allah, said : ‘ By Allah, verily this—by Him in whose hand is my soul !—must be the Mosque of David, of which the Apostle spake to us, saying, *I was conducted thither in the night journey.*’ Then ‘Omar advanced to the fore (or southern) part of the Haram Area, and to the western side thereof, and he said : ‘ Let us make this the place for the Mosque.’ ”*

* With this and the following accounts of ‘Omar’s first visit to the Temple Area, accompanied by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, it will be interesting to compare the narrative of the Byzantine historian Theophanes, who wrote his *Chronographia* in the eighth century A.D. (see note to p. 92), more than five hundred years, therefore, before the author of the *Muthîr*, who is our sole authority for the Muslim tradition. The Greek original, of which the following is a translation, will be found in vol. i., p. 519 of the Bonn edition (1839) of the *Chronographia*. “Anno Mundi 6127 ; Anno Domini 627. In this year Omar undertook his expedition into Palestine, where, the Holy City having been continuously besieged for two years (by the Arab armies), he at length

"On the authority of Al Walid ibn Muslim, it is reported as coming from a Shaikh of the sons of Shadâd ibn Aus, who had heard it from his father, who held it of his grandfather, that 'Omar, as soon as he was at leisure from the writing of the Treaty of Capitulation made between him and the people of the Holy City, said to the Patriarch of Jerusalem: 'Conduct us to the Mosque of David.' And the Patriarch agreed thereto. Then 'Omar went forth girt with his sword, and with him four thousand of the Companions who had come to Jerusalem with him, all begirt likewise with their swords, and a crowd of us Arabs, who had come up to the Holy City, followed them, none of us bearing any weapons except our swords. And the Patriarch walked before 'Omar among the Companions, and we all came behind the Khalif. Thus we entered the Holy City. And the Patriarch took us to the Church which goes by the name of the Kumâmah,* and said he: 'This is David's Mosque.' And 'Omar looked around and pondered, then he answered the Patriarch: 'Thou liest, for the Apostle described to me the Mosque of David, and by his description this is not it.' Then the Patriarch went on with us to the Church of Sihyûn (Sion), and again he said: 'This is the Mosque of David.' But the Khalif replied to him: 'Thou liest.' So the Patriarch went on with him till he came to the noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, and reached the gate thereof, called (afterwards) the Gate Muhammad. Now the dung which was then all about the noble Sanctuary, had settled on the steps of this gate, so that it even came out into the street in which the gate opened, and it had accumulated so greatly on the steps as

became possessed of it by capitulation. Sophronius, the chief (or Patriarch) of Jerusalem, obtained from Omar a treaty in favour of all the inhabitants of Palestine, after which Omar entered the Holy City clothed in camel-hair garments all soiled and torn, and making show of piety as a cloak for his diabolical hypocrisy, demanded to be taken to what in former times had been the Temple built by Solomon. This he straightway converted into an oratory for blasphemy and impiety. When Sophronius saw this he exclaimed: 'Verily, this is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, and it now stands in the Holy Place;' and (the Patriarch) shed many tears."

* Al Kumâmah—literally, "the dunghill." This is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of "Al Kayâmah," *Anastasis*, the name given to the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) by the Christian Arabs.

almost to reach up to the ceiling of the gateway. 'The Patriarch said to 'Omar: 'It is impossible to proceed and enter—except crawling on hands and knees.' Said 'Omar: 'Even on hands and knees be it.' So the Patriarch went down on hands and knees, preceding 'Omar, and we all crawled after him, until he had brought us out into the Court of the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City. 'Then we arose off our knees, and stood upright. And 'Omar looked around, pondering for a long time. Then said he: 'By Him in whose hands is my soul!—this is the place described to us by the Apostle of Allah.'” (S., 276; M. a. D., 226.)

“And it is reported on other authority to the last, namely, from Hishâm ibn 'Ammâr, who had it from Al Haitham ibn 'Omar ibn al 'Abbâsi, who related that he had heard his grandfather, 'Abd Allah ibn Abu 'Abd Allah, tell how, when 'Omar was Khalif, he went to visit the people of Syria. 'Omar halted first at the village of Al Jâbiyah,* while he despatched a man of the Jadilah Tribe to the Holy City, and, shortly after, 'Omar became possessed of Jerusalem by capitulation. Then the Khalif himself went thither, and Ka'ab † was with him. Said 'Omar to Ka'ab: 'O, Abu Ishâk, knowest thou the position of the Rock?' and Ka'ab answered: 'Measure from the wall which is on the Wâdi Jahan-num so and so many ells; there dig, and ye shall discover it:' adding: 'At this present day it is a dungheap.' So they dug there, and the Rock was laid bare. Then said 'Omar to Ka'ab: 'Where sayest thou we should place the Mosque, or, rather, the Kiblah?' Ka'ab replied: 'Lay out a place for it behind the Rock, whereby you will make one the two Kiblâhs, that, namely, of Moses, and that of Muhammad.' But 'Omar answered him:

* In Jaulan.

† The author of the *Muthîr* writes in another section: “Ka'ab al Abhar, or Al Hibr, surnamed Abu Ishak ibn Mânî the Himyarite, was originally a Jew, and became a Muslim during the Khalifate of Abu Bakr—or, some say, during that of 'Omar. He is a celebrated authority for Traditions, and is noted as having been a very learned man. He died at Hims in A.H. 32 (652).” In point of fact, Ka'ab, like his co-religionist, the equally celebrated Jew Wabb ibn Munabbih, who also embraced Islam (the two being the great authorities among the early Muslims in all points of ancient history), was in time discovered to have been a great liar, and to have considerably gulled the simple-minded Arabs of the first century of the Flight.

'Thou hast leanings still towards the Jews, O Abu Ishâk. The Mosque shall be in front of the Rock (not behind it).' Thus was the Mosque erected in the fore-part of the Haram Area."

"Al Walid further relates, as coming from Kulthum ibn Ziyâd, that 'Omar asked of Ka'ab : 'Where thinkest thou that we should put the place of prayer for Muslims in this Holy Sanctuary?' Said Ka'ab in answer : 'In the hinder (or northern) portion thereof, in the part adjoining the Gate of the Tribes.' But 'Omar said : 'Not so ; seeing that, on the contrary, to us belongs the fore-part of the Sanctuary.' And 'Omar then proceeded to the fore-part thereof. Al Walid again relates—on the authority of Ibn Shaddâd, who had it of his father—"Omar proceeded to the fore-part of the Sanctuary Area, to the side adjoining the west (namely to the south-west part), and there began to throw the dung by handfuls into his cloak, and we all who were with him did likewise. Then he went with it—and we following him to do the same—and threw the dung into the Wâdî, which is called the Wâdî Jahannum. Then we returned to do the like over again, and yet again—he, 'Omar, and also we who were with him—until we had cleared the whole of the place where the Mosque now stands. And there we all made our prayers, 'Omar himself praying among us."

Some other versions are also given of the same traditions, identical in every point except for the pseudo-authority quoted, and the wording of the narrative. (See S., 32 ; copied by M. a. D., 225.) The following is given by Suyûti only (not by the author of the *Muthîr*), and is curious for the mention of the St. Mary Church (*Kanîsah Maryam*) possibly the Church of the Virgin described by Procopius.

"Now, when 'Omar made the capitulation with the people of the Holy City, and entered among them, he was wearing at that time two long tunics of the kind called Sumbulânî. Then he prayed in the Church of Mary, and, when he had done so, he spat on one of his tunics. And it was said to him : 'Dost thou spit here because that this is a place in which the sin of polytheism has been committed?' And 'Omar answered : 'Yea, verily the sin of polytheism hath been committed herein ; but now, in truth,

the name of Allah hath been pronounced here.' It is further reported that 'Omar did carefully avoid praying near the Wâdi Jahannum." (S., 34.)

'*Abd al Malik and the Dome of the Rock.* (*Muthir*, chapter vi.)* — "The Khalif 'Abd al Malik it was who built the Dome of the Rock, and the (Aksâ) Mosque of the Holy City; and, according to report, he devoted to the expenses of the same the revenues of Egypt for the space of seven years. The historian Siht al Jauzi, in his work called the 'Mirror of the Time' (*Mirat as Zamân*), states that 'Abd al Malik began the building here in the year 69 of the Hijrah, and completed the same in the year 72 (A.D. 687—690). But others say that he who first built the Dome (of the Rock) of the Holy City was Sa'id, the son of the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, and that he afterwards, too, restored it.† Now, on the authority of Rijâ ibn Hayâh, and of Yazîd ibn Sallâm,‡ 'Abd al Malik's freedman, it is reported that, on the occasion of building the Dome of the Rock of the Holy City and the Aksâ Mosque, the Khalif came himself from Damascus to Jerusalem, and thence despatched letters into all the provinces, and to all the governors of cities, to the following effect: ' 'Abd al Malik doth wish to build a Dome over the Rock in the Holy City, whereby to shelter the Muslims from heat and cold; as also a Mosque. But he wisheth not to do this thing without knowing the will of his people. Therefore, let the Muslims write their desires, and whatsoever may be their will.' And letters came back to him from the governors of the provinces which assured the Commander of the Faithful of the full approval of all men, and that they deemed his intention a fitting and pious one. And said they: 'We ask of Allah to vouchsafe completion to what the Khalif doth undertake, in the matter of building in the Noble Sanctuary, and the Dome therein, and the Mosque; and may it succeed under his hand, for

* Quoted by S., p. 280.

† This assertion is found in none of the early authorities.

‡ Abu'l Mikdam Hijâ ibn Hayâh ibn Jarûl, of the Kindah tribe, was a man celebrated for his learning, and in later years a great friend of the second Khalif 'Omar (Ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz). Yazîd ibn Sallâm, his colleague, was a native of Jerusalem. The account following is transcribed by Munjir ad Din.—Cairo Text, pp. 241, 242.

it is a noble deed, both for him and for those who follow after him.'

"Then the Khalif brought together craftsmen from all parts of his empire, and commanded that they should set forth the proportions and elevation of the building before they began to build the Dome itself. So they laid out the plan thereof in the Court of the Haram Area. And he commanded them to build a Treasure House on the east side of the Rock, and the same is the building which now stands close beside the Rock.* So they began to build. And the Khalif set apart great sums of money, and instituted to be overseers thereof Rijâ ibn Hayâh, and Yazîd ibn Sallâm, commanding them to spend the same, and giving them authority therein. So they made expenditure for digging the foundations, and building up the structure, until (all was finished and) the moneys were (in large part) expended. When the edifice was complete and solidly constructed, so that not a word could be said for improvement thereto, these men wrote to the Khalif at Damascus, saying: 'Allah hath vouchsafed completion to what the Commander of the Faithful commanded concerning the building of the Dome over the Rock of the Holy City, and the Aksâ Mosque also. And no word can be said to suggest improvement thereto. And verily there remaineth over and above of what the Commander of the Faithful did set apart for the expense of the same—the building being now complete and solidly built—a sum of 100,000 (gold) dinârs. So now let the Commander of the Faithful expend the remnant in whatever matter seemeth good to him.' And the Khalif wrote to them in reply: 'Let this, then, be a gift unto you two for what ye have accomplished in the building of this noble and blessed house.' But to this Rijâ and Yazîd sent answer: 'Nay, rather, first let us add to this the ornaments of our women and the superfluity of our wealth, and then do thou, O Khalif, expend the whole in what seemeth best to thee.' Then the Khalif wrote commanding them to melt down the gold, and apply it to the adornment of the Dome. So all this gold was melted down and expended to adorn the Dome of the Rock; to an extent that it was impossible, by reason of the

* Now called the Dome of the Chain. See p. 153.

gold thereon, for anyone to keep the eye fixed and look at it. They prepared also two coverings, to go over the Dome, of felts and of skins of animals, and the same were put over it in the winter-time to preserve it from the rains, and the winds, and the snows. Rijâ ibn Hayâh and Yazid ibn Sallâm also surrounded the Rock with a lattice-screen of Sâsim (or ebony-wood), and outside the screen they hung between the columns curtains of brocade.

“Each day fifty and two persons were employed to pound and grind down saffron, working by night also, and leavening it with musk and ambergris, and rose-water of the Jûrî rose. At early dawn the servants appointed entered the Bath of Sulaimân* ibn ‘Abd al Malik, where they washed and purified themselves before proceeding to the Treasure Chamber (al Khazânah), in which was kept the (yellow perfume of saffron called) Khulûk. And, before leaving the Treasure Chamber, they changed all their clothes, putting on new garments, made of the stuffs of Marv and Herat, also shawls (of the striped cloths of Yaman), called ‘Asb; and, taking jewelled girdles, they girt these about their waists. Then, bearing the jars of the Khulûk in their hands, they went forth and anointed therewith the stone of the Rock, even as far as they could reach up to with their hands, spreading the perfume all over the same. And for the part beyond that which they could reach, having first washed their feet, they attained thereto by walking on the Rock itself, anointing all that remained thereof; and by this the jars of the Khulûk were completely emptied. Then they brought censers of gold and of silver, filled with aloes wood of Kimâr (in Java), and the incense called Nadd, compounded with musk and ambergris; and, letting down the curtains between the columns, they swung to and fro the censers, until the incense did rise into all the space between the columns and the Dome above, by reason of the quantity thereof. Which done, and the

* The MSS. of Suyûti read “Hammam Sulaimân,” as though it were the Bath of King Solomon. I have found no notice of this bath elsewhere; and it is on the authority of the *Muthîr* that the Bath is named after the son of the Khalîf ‘Abd al Malik. The Jûrî rose is named from the town of Jûr or Gûr, in Persia, afterwards called Fairûzâbâd, which was so celebrated for its roses as to be surnamed *Bala’ al Ward*, “the City of Roses.” (Yâkût, ii. 147.)

curtains again drawn up, the censers were carried outside the building, whereby the sweet smell went abroad, even to the entrance of the market beyond (the Haram Area), so that all who passed therein could scent the perfume. After this the censers were extinguished. Proclamation then was made by criers from before the screen: 'The Sakhrâh, verily, is open for the people, and he who would pray therein, let him come.' And the people would hasten to come and make their prayer in the Sakhrâh, the most of them performing two Rika'ahs (or prayer prostrations), while some few acquitted themselves of four. And he who had thus said his prayers, when he had gone forth again, (friends) would perceive on him the perfume of the incense, and say: 'Such an one hath been in the Sakhrâh.' (After the prayer-time was over, the servants) washed off with water the marks left by the peoples' feet, cleaning everywhere with green myrtle (brooms), and drying with cloths. Then the gates were closed, and for guarding each were appointed ten chamberlains, since none might enter the Sakhrâh—except the servants thereof—on other days than the Monday and the Friday.

"On the authority of Abu Bakr ibn al Hârith, it is reported that, during the Khalifate of 'Abd al Malik, the Sakhrâh was entirely lighted with (oil of) the Midian Bân (the Tamarisk, or Myrobalan) tree, and oil of Jasmin, of a lead colour. (And this, says Abu Bakr, was of so sweet a perfume, that) the chamberlains were wont to say to him: 'O Abu Bakr, pass us the lamps that we may put oil on ourselves therefrom, and perfume our clothes'; and so he used to do, to gratify them. Such are the matters relating to the days of the Khalifate of 'Abd al Malik.

"Further, saith Al Walid, it hath been related to me by 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Mansûr ibn Thâbit—who said, I hold it of my father, who held it of his father, and he from his grandfather—that, in the days of 'Abd al Malik, there was suspended from the chain hanging down in the middle of the Dome of the Rock a single unique pearl, also the two horns of the Ram of Abraham, and the Crown of the Chosroes. But when the Khalifate passed to the Abbasides, they had all these relics transported to the Ka'abah—which may Allah preserve!"

The following, which occurs in the seventh chapter of the *Muthîr*, is quoted both by Suyûti and by Mujîr ad Dîn. (S., 285; M. a. D., 248.) A somewhat similar account will be found below (p. 161), on the much earlier authority of Ibn al Fakîh.

“On the authority of the Hâfîdh Ibn ‘Asâkir, the testimony going back to Abu-l-Ma‘ali al Mukaddasi, it is related how ‘Abd al Malik built the Dome of the Rock and the Aksâ Mosque. Further, ‘Ukbah states that in those days there were six thousand beams of wood used for the ceilings, besides the beams for the wooden pillars; and the doors were fifty in number. There were six hundred pillars of marble, and seven Mihrâbs, and of chains for suspending the candelabra four hundred, less fifteen (that is three hundred and eighty-five), of which two hundred and thirty were in the Aksâ Mosque, and the remainder (namely, one hundred and fifty-five) in the Dome of the Rock. The length of all these chains put together was 4,000 ells, and their weight 43,000 Syrian (pounds or) ratls.* There were five thousand lamps; and, in addition to these, they were wont to light two thousand wax candles on the Friday nights, and on the middle nights of the months of Rajab, Sha‘abân, and Ramadhân, as also on the nights of the Two (Great) Festivals. (In the various parts of the Haram Area) are fifteen (small) domes, besides the (Great) Dome of the Rock; and on the Mosque-roof there were seven thousand seven hundred sheets of lead, each sheet weighing 70 ratls, Syrian measure (420 lbs.). And this did not include what was on the roof which covered the Dome of the Rock. All this was of that which was done in the days of ‘Abd al Malik. And this Khalif appointed for the perpetual service of the Noble Sanctuary three hundred servants, who were (slaves) purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth from the Treasury; and as these servants in time died off, each man’s son, or his son’s son, or some member of his family, was appointed in his place. And so the service hath continued on for all time, generation after generation; and they receive their rations from the public treasury.

“In the Haram Area there are twenty-four great water cisterns, and of minarets four—to wit, three in a line on the west side of

* 258,000 lbs.

the Noble Sanctuary, and one that rises above the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). And among the servants of the Haram there were Jews, from whom was exacted no poll-tax. Originally there were but ten men, but, their families increasing, the number rose to twenty; and it was their business to sweep away the dust left by the people at the times of visitation, both in summer and in winter, and also to clean the places of ablution that lay round the Aksâ Mosque. There were also ten Christian servants of the Noble Sanctuary, whose office went by inheritance after the same fashion. These made, and likewise swept, the mats of the Mosque. They also swept out the conduits which carried the water into the cisterns, and, further, attended to the keeping clean of the cisterns themselves, and other such service. And among the servants of the Sanctuary, too, were another company of Jews, who made the glass plates for the lamps, and the glass lantern bowls, and glass vessels and rods. And it was appointed that from these men also no poll-tax was to be taken, nor from those who made the wicks for the lamps; and this exemption continued in force for all time, both to them and their children who inherited the office after them, even from the days of 'Abd al Malik, and for ever.

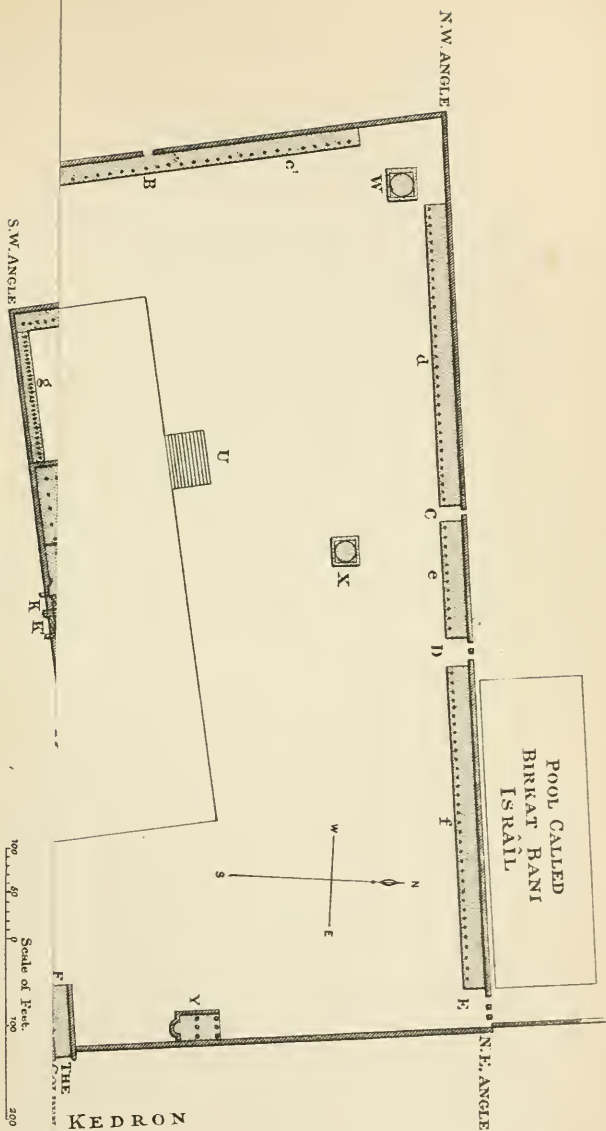
"Al Walîd further writes—on the warranty of Abu 'Amir ibn Damrah, who reported it on the authority of 'Atâ, who had it of his father—that in early days it was the Jews who were appointed to light the lamps in the Noble Sanctuary, but that when the Khalif 'Omar ibn 'Abd al 'Azîz came to reign, he deprived them of this office, and set in their place servants who had been purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth. And a certain man of these servants—a slave bought of the Royal Fifth—came once to him, and said: 'Give me manumission, O Khalif!' But 'Omar answered: 'How then! verily I cannot emancipate thee! but shouldst thou depart (of thine own accord), behold I have no power over a hair even of the hairs of thy dog!'"*

Such are the traditional (or apocryphal) accounts, very probably, for the most part, an invention of the fourteenth century, which

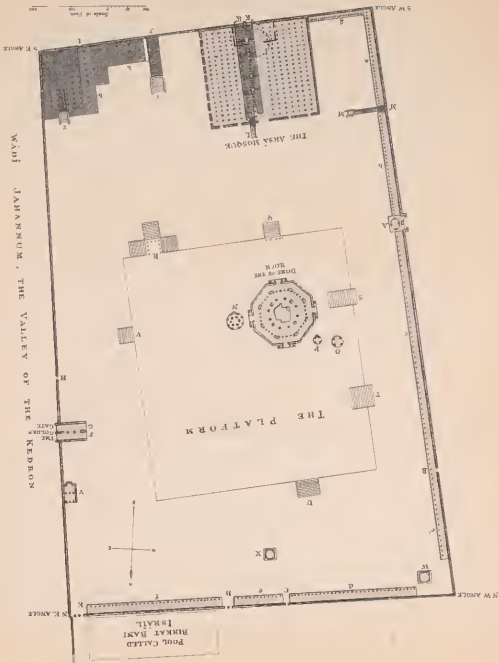
* Mujîr ad Dîn, who gives the anecdote, has "a hair of the hairs of thy body" in place of "of thy dog." (M. a. D., 250.)

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN OF THE HARAM AREA IN THE TIME OF NÂSIR-I-KHUSRAU.

- A. Bâb Dâûd, Gate of David.
- B. Bâb as Sakar, Gate of Hell.
- C. Gate leading to the Cloisters of the Sûfis.
- D. Bâb al Asbât, Gate of the Tribes.
- E. Bâb al Abwâb, Gate of Gates.
- F. Bâb al Taubah, Gate of Repentance.
- G. Bâb ar Rahmah, Gate of Mercy.
- H. The ancient Bâb al Burâk, or Bâb al Janâiz, Gate of the Funerals.
- I. Ancient "Single Gate" } One of these is the Bâb al 'Ain, Gate
- J. Ancient "Triple Gate" } of the Spring.
- K. Bâb an Nabî, Gate of the Prophet, the ancient "Double Gate."
- L. Steps leading down to the subterranean Passage-way of this Gate.
- M. Bâb Hittah, Gate of Remission.
- N. Dome of the Chain.
- O. Kubbat ar Rasûl, Dome of the Prophet.
- P. Kubbat Jibrâil, Dome of Gabriel.
- Q. Stairway, called Makâm an Nabî, Station of the Prophet.
- R. Stairway, called Makâm Ghûrî.
- S. } Western Stairways.
- T. }
- U. Northern Stairway, called Makâm Shâmi.
- V. Eastern Stairway, called Makâm Sharkî.
- W. Oratory of Zachariah.
- X. Dome of Jacob.
- Y. Small Mosque, of old a Hall.
- Z. Steps leading down to the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus.
- a. Colonnade of Arches
- b. " " } Along the West Wall.
- c. " " }
- c'. " " }
- d. }
- e. } Colonnades along the North Wall.
- f. }
- g. Colonnade of forty-two arches, along South Wall, joining the Western Colonnade.



PLAN OF THE HARAM AREA
IN THE TIME OF NÂSIR-I-KHUSRAU, A.D. 1047.



purport to relate the events of 'Omar's conquest, and 'Abd al Malik's buildings, in the seventh century of our era. How much credence should be placed in them it is difficult to say. They rest, doubtless, on some foundation of fact; but the form of the greater part of the narratives is very evidently apocryphal.

We may now return to the older Chronicles and Geographers, whose accounts are more worthy of credence, and their authorities more easily controlled, and we shall resume the subject of the description of the Haram Area, proceeding to quote the earlier accounts concerning the various buildings, other than the Aksâ Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, which occupy the area of the Noble Sanctuary.

THE DOME OF THE CHAIN.

A few paces east of the Dome of the Rock stands a small cupola, supported on pillars, but without any enclosing wall, except at the Kiblah point, south, where two of the pillars have a piece of wall, forming the Mihrâb, built up in between them. This is called Kubbât as Silsilah — "the Dome of the Chain." As early as 913 it is mentioned by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih as "the Dome where, during the times of the children of Israel, there hung down the chain that gave judgment (of truth and lying) between them." (I. R., iii. 368.)

According to the most generally accepted tradition, King David received from the angel Gabriel, not a chain, but an iron rod, with the command to span it across his judgment-hall, and on it to hang a bell. When the rod was touched in turn by plaintiff and defendant, the bell sounded for the one with whom the right lay.* The Arab Geographers, however, all speak of a chain; and Yâkût, describing this Dome, particularly mentions that it was here that was "hung the chain which allowed itself to be grasped by him who spoke the truth, but could not be touched by him who gave false witness, until he had renounced his craft, and repented him of his sin." (Yâk., iv. 593.)

The Dome of the Chain is also mentioned by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's contemporary, Ibn al Fakih, who describes it as, in his

* See Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 215.

day, "supported on twenty marble columns, and its roof is covered with sheets of lead." (I. F., 101.) In Mukaddasi's days the Dome of the Chain is also described as merely a cupola, "supported on marble pillars, being without walls" (Muk., 169.)

So frail a structure would, doubtless, have frequently suffered damage by the earthquakes, which, as is recorded, threw down many of the buildings in the Haram Area. And this circumstance will explain the varying accounts given at different times of the number of the pillars. At the present day there are six in an inner circle, supporting the cupola, and eleven in the outer, two of these being built into the Mihrâb. This gives a total of seventeen pillars (see plan facing p. 114).

The Persian traveller Nâsir, writing in 1047, gives the following description of the building he visited (see plan, p. 126) :

"Besides the Dome of the Rock there is (on the platform) the dome called Kubbat as Silsilah (or the Dome of the Chain). The 'Chain' is that which David—peace be upon him!—hung up, and it was so that none who spoke not the truth could grasp it; the unjust and the wicked man could not lay hand on it, which same is a certified fact, and well known to the learned. This Dome is supported on eight marble columns, and six stone piers; and on all sides it is open, except on the side towards the Kiblah point, which is built up, and forms a beautiful Mihrâb." (N. Kh., 48.)

Idrisî, in 1154, writing probably from Christian accounts, and at a time when the Holy City was in the occupation of the Crusaders, speaks of the Dome of the Chain as "the Church which is called the Holy of Holies." (See above, p. 131.) According to the author of the *Citez de Jherusalem*, a work of about the year 1225, the building was in his day known to the Christians as "the Chapel of St. James the Less, because it was here he was martyred, when the Jews threw him down from the Temple."* Saladin, after reconquering the Holy City (1187), must have put back the Dome of the Chain to its original use as a Muslim oratory. According to Mujir ad Din, the Dome of the Chain was

* *Palestine Pilgrim's Text*, p. 13.

rebuilt by the Egyptian Sultan Baibars, who reigned from 1260—1277. (M. a. D., 434.)

It is often stated that the Dome of the Chain was first built to serve as the model, from which the architects of 'Abd al Malik subsequently erected the Great Dome of the Rock. This idea is, I believe, found in no Arab writer previous to Mujir ad Din (1496). Suyûti (see above, p. 145), from whom he copies most of his descriptions, has not a word of this; and Mujir ad Din apparently either himself invented the idea of the Dome of the Chain having been built as a model, or else inserted it as the account current among the learned of his own day. Mujir ad Din's statement is as follows :

“It is said that (the Khalif) 'Abd al Malik described what he desired in the matter and manner of the building of the Dome (of the Rock) to his architects, and they, while he sojourned in the Holy City, built the small dome which stands to the east of the Dome of the Rock, and is called the Dome of the Chain.” A few lines before, Mujir ad Din further states that the Khalif laid up the seven years' tribute of Egypt, which had been amassed for the building expenses of the Dome of the Rock—“in the Dome which stood over against the Rock on the eastern side, and which he had caused to be built here near the olive-tree. This he made his store-chamber, filling it with the moneys.” (M. a. D., 241.)

Mujir ad Din further describes the Dome of the Chain as in his day “supported by seventeen columns, not counting the two (on either side) of the Mihrâb.” (M. a. D., 372.) At the present day, as has been noted above, there are seventeen columns in all, *including* those in the Mihrâb, so that apparently since 1496 some alterations have been effected in this building.

Minor Domes.—Besides the Great Dome of the Rock, and the smaller Dome of the Chain to the east of it, there have at all times stood on the Platform at least two other smaller Domes, built to commemorate the incidents of the Prophet's Night Journey. These edifices were of so frail a structure as constantly to have suffered by the shocks of earthquake, and it is not surprising to find some confusion in the names under which they are described at various dates.

In 903, according to Ibn al Fakih, "in the northern part (of the platform) are (1) the Dome of the Prophet, (2) and the Station of Gabriel; (3) while near the Sakhrâh (the Dome of the Rock) is the Dome of the Ascension." His contemporary, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, on the other hand, mentions "(1) the Dome whence the Prophet made his ascent into Heaven; (2) the Dome over the spot where the Prophet prayed (in communion) with the (former) Prophets; . . . (3) further the Praying-place of Jibrâil." Mukaddasi (who wrote in 985) states that the two Minor Domes were called "the Dome of the Ascension, and the Dome of the Prophet." According to Nâsir's account in 1047, in his day the two were known as the Dome of the Prophet, and the Dome of Gabriel.

From these various statements the conclusion presumably to be drawn is, that of the two domes lying north-west of the Sakhrâh; that standing furthest to the west was in Ibn al Fakih's time called "(1) the Dome of the Prophet;" and this is identical with that mentioned by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih as "(2) the Dome where the Prophet prayed," with Mukaddasi's "Dome of the Prophet," also described a little later under the same name by Nâsir-i-Khusrau. 'The Dome, occupying the position of the one here spoken of, goes at the present day by the name of the *Kubbat al Mi'râj*, the Dome of the Ascension. (Plan at the end of the present chapter, R.)

Between the present Dome of the Ascension and the Great Dome of the Rock, there would seem to have stood in old days a second Minor Dome, occupying the position of the present Dome or Prayer-Station of the Angel Gabriel. (Plan at the end of the chapter, at S.) From very early times, however, the names of these Minor Domes would appear to have been constantly interchanged or altered. Thus this second Dome is called by Ibn al Fakih "(3) the Dome of the Ascension;" by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih "(1) the Dome whence the Prophet ascended;" by Mukaddasi "the Dome of the Ascension;" and by Nâsir "the Dome of Gabriel." Further, besides these two Domes, Ibn al Fakih, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, both mention "the Praying-Station of Gabriel," which is not spoken of by either Mukaddasi or Nâsir.

The only actual description of the two Minor Domes, stand-

ing to the north-west of the Sakhrah, previous to the Crusades is that left us by Nâsir-i-Khusrau in 1047. After describing the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain, he continues :

“And again, on the platform, is another Dome, that surmounts four marble columns. This, too, on the Kiblah side, is walled in, forming a fine Mihrâb. It is called Kubbat Jibrâil (the Dome of Gabriel) ; and there are no carpets spread here, for its floor is formed by the live-rock, that has been here made smooth. They say that on the night of the Mi'râj (the Ascent into Heaven) the steed Burâk was tied up at this spot, until the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—was ready to mount. Lastly, there is yet another Dome, lying 20 cubits distant from the Dome of Gabriel, and it is called Kubbat ar Rasûl (or the Dome of the Prophet)—peace and benediction be upon him! This Dome, likewise, is set upon four marble piers.” (N. Kh., 49.)

To what purpose these Minor Domes were put during the occupation of the Holy City by the Crusaders is unknown. Shortly after Saladin had reconquered Jerusalem in 1187, what is now known of the Dome of the Ascension was rebuilt, having fallen to ruin. Mujîr ad Dîn, writing in 1496, states :

“The present Dome of the Ascension was rebuilt in 597 (1200) by the governor of Jerusalem, 'Izz ad Dîn 'Othman ibn 'Ali Az Zanjili, the more ancient Dome having fallen to ruin.” (M. a. D., 373.) An inscription giving this date may still be read on the present *Kubbat al Mi'râj*.

The position of the minor Dome, known of old as the Dome of the Prophet, appears to have been a matter of controversy among the learned in the days that followed the Muslim re-occupation of Jerusalem. Yâkût (1225) refers to it as the Dome of *An Nabi Dâûd*—the Prophet David. (Yâk., iv. 594.) This change of name from Muhammad to *David* is probably what led Suyûtî, writing in 1470, to put forward the following theory for the identification of the older Dome of the Prophet, as described by Muslim writers previous to the time of the Crusaders. Suyûtî's identification of this Dome of the Prophet with the Dome of the Chain has not, it will be noted, been adopted by subsequent authorities. Suyûtî writes :

“The Dome named the Dome of the Prophet is, as I understand it, the one which lies to the east of the Sakhrâh, being also called the Dome of the Chain. It was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik. For I would point out that in the Haram Area, beside the Dome of the Ascension, there are but two other Domes. One, a small Dome, stands at the edge of the Sakhrâh Platform, on the right hand side of the northernmost of the steps leading up to the Platform from the west.* I believe at the present day this is in the hands of certain of the servants of the Noble Sanctuary, and is put to some use on their part; certainly no one in the Holy City considers this to be the Dome of the Prophet. The only other Dome (in the Haram Area) stands back near the Gate of the Noble Sanctuary, on the northern side, called the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets, known also as the Bâb ad Dawâdariyyah. This is called the Dome of Sulaimân—not after the Prophet Solomon, but perhaps after Sulaimân, the son of the Khalif 'Abd al Malik. As to the Dome of the Ascension, it is, as everybody knows, on the Platform of the Sakhrâh, and is much visited by the pilgrims. Hence, therefore, it is likely that what Al Musharraḥ, and the author of the *Mustaksâ* and of the *Bâ'ith an Nufus*, referred to under the name of the Dome of the Prophet, is that now known as the Dome of the Chain, which was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik.”

“Now, as to the place where the Prophet prayed, in the company of the former Prophets and the Angels, it is said that this spot is beside the Dome of the Ascension, where, on the Platform of the Sakhrâh, there used to stand a beautiful Dome. When, however, they flagged the Platform of Sakhrâh, they did away with this Dome, and set in its place a handsome Mihrâb, the floor of which is laid in a circle with red marble slabs, after the manner of other parts of the Sakhrâh Court. This, then, as it is said, in the place occupied by this Mihrâb, is where the Prophet made his prayer with the Angels and Prophets. He then advanced a step forward from that place, and there rose up before him a ladder of gold and a ladder of silver, and thereby he ascended into Heaven.” (S., 260, 261; the last paragraph is copied by M. a. D., 374.)

* At present known as Kubbât al Khidr, the Dome of St. George.

The Platform and Stairways.—The Platform occupying the centre of the Haram Area, on which stand the Dome of the Rock and the other minor Domes, according to Ibn al Fakih, measured in his days (903) “300 ells in length, by 140 ells across, and its height is 9 ells.” (I. F., 100.) Taking the ell to be the royal ell, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet (the evaluation derived from the dimensions recorded of the Dome of the Rock), this gives 450 feet, by 210, and is considerably less than the measurement of the present Platform, which is, taking the mean of length and breadth, 540 feet by 465 feet. In 1047 we have Nâsir-i-Khusrau’s measurements recorded, namely, “330 cubits by 300”; but the cubit (in the Persian *Arsh*) here used is the long cubit of nearly 2 feet. This, if the figures be correct, gives rather under 660 feet, by 600 feet, and would go to prove that at Nâsir’s date, just previous to the Crusades, the Platform was somewhat larger than it is at present. Further, it had apparently been raised in the height since Ibn al Fakih’s days. Then it was 9 (shorter) ells, or $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet, above the level of the Court; in Nâsir’s time it was 12 (longer) ells, somewhat under 24 feet high. At the present day the upper level is only some 10 feet above that of the rest of the Haram Area.

Mujir ad Din, writing at the close of the fifteenth century, gives the measures he himself had made, which prove that in his day, the Platform must have occupied exactly the same lines it does at the present time. The measurement he uses is the *Workman’s ell*, which was approximately $2\frac{1}{4}$ English feet. The following is a translation from his text :

“The dimensions of the Platform (*Sahn*) of the Sakhrâh are these: From the South Wall, between the two stairways the line passing between the East Gate of the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain, up to the North Wall, opposite the Bâb Hittah, measures 235 ells. From the East Wall, over against the Olive-trees that are near the Kubbat at Tûmâr (the Dome of the Roll), to the West Wall opposite the Sultan’s Madrasah, measures 189 ells of the Workman’s ell.” (M. a. D., 377.)

Ibn al Fâkih states that the platform was (in 903) ascended by six flights of steps. Mukaddasi, about eighty years later, says there

were four stairways leading up from the four sides ; Násir-i-Khusrau, in 1052, however, gives six again as the number of the stairways, and he adds the following description of the Platform and its stairways :

“In the middle of the Court of the Haram Area is the Platform, and set in the midst thereof is the Sakhrah (Rock) which, before the revelation of Islam, was the Kiblah (or point turned to in prayer). The Platform was constructed by reason that the Rock, being high, could not be brought within the compass of the Main-building (of the Aksá Mosque). Wherefore the foundations of this Platform were laid, measuring 330 cubits by 300, and the height thereof 12 ells. The surface of the same is level, and beautifully paved with slabs of marble, with walls the like, all the joints being riveted with lead. Along the edge of its four sides are parapets of marble blocks that fence it round, so that, except by the openings left especially therefor, you cannot enter. From the Platform you command a view over the roofs of the (Aksá) Mosque. There is an underground tank in the midst of the Platform, whereto is collected, by means of conduits, all the rain-water that falls on the Platform itself; and the water of this tank is sweeter and purer than is the water of any other of the tanks in the Haram Area.”

“Now, regarding the stairways that lead up on to the platform from the court of the Noble Sanctuary, these are six in number, each with its own name. On the side (south) towards the Kiblah, there are two flights of steps that go up on to the platform. As you stand by the middle of the retaining wall of the platform (facing south), there is one flight to the right hand and another to the left. That lying on the right is called Makâm an Nabi (the Prophet's Station)—peace be upon him!—and that lying on the left is called Makâm Ghûrî (or the Station of Ghûrî). The stairway of the Prophet's Station is so called because that on the night of his ascent, the Prophet—upon him be peace and blessing!—went up to the platform thereby, going thence to the Dome of the Rock. And the road hither from the Hijjâz comes by this stair. At the present day this stairway is 20 cubits broad, and each step is a rectangular block of care-

fully chiselled stone in one piece, or sometimes in two. The steps are laid in such fashion that it would be possible to ride on horseback up the stairway to the platform. At the top of this stairway are four piers of marble, green, like the emerald, only that the marble is variegated with numberless coloured spots; and these pillars are 10 cubits in height, and so thick that it would take two men to encompass them. Above the capitals of these four pillars rise three arches—one opposite the gate, and one on either side; and (the masonry) crowning the arches is flat-topped and rectangular, with battlements and a cornice set on it. These pillars and the arches are ornamented in gold and enamel-work, than which none can be finer.

“The balustrade round the (edge of the) platform is of green marble, variegated with spots, so that one would say it was a meadow covered with flowers in bloom. The stairway of Makâm Ghûrî consists of a triple flight, and the three lead up together on to the platform—one in the middle, and two on either side—so that by three ways can people go up. At the summit of each of the three flights are columns supporting arches with a cornice. Each step is skilfully cut of squared stone, as before described, and each may consist of two or three blocks in the length. Over the arcade above is set a beautiful inscription in gold, stating that the same was constructed by command of the Amîr Laith ad Daulah Nûshtakîn Ghûrî; and they told me that this Laith ad Daulah had been a servant of the Sultan of Egypt, and had caused these steps and gangways to be built.

“On the western side of the platform there are, likewise, two flights of steps leading up thereon, and constructed with the same skill as those I have just described. On the east side there is but one flight. It is built after a like fashion to the foregoing, with columns and an arch with battlements above, and it is named Makâm Sharkî (or the Eastern Station). On the northern side (of the platform) there is also a single stairway, but it is higher and broader than are any of the others. As with those, there are here columns and arches built (at the top of the flight), and it goes by the name of Makâm Shâmi (that is, the Syrian or Northern Station). According to the estimate I made, these six

flights of steps must have had expended upon them 100,000 dinârs or (£50,000)." (N. Kh., 43-45.)

Nûstakîn Ghûrî, here spoken of, was a Turk who commanded the armies of the Fatimite Khalif Adh Dhâhir. From having originally been a slave in Khoten, he rose to become Governor of Syria, where he ruled between the years 1028—1041, shortly before Nâsir's visit.

The Court of the Haram Area.—The early accounts which describe the various buildings—Domes, Mihrâbs, and Oratories—found scattered over the great court of the Haram Area make mention of edifices, some of which, with the lapse of time, have now completely disappeared, while others, having changed their names, can only doubtfully be identified with the existing structures.

During the eighty-eight years that Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Crusaders, the buildings of the Haram Area were turned to various purposes—religious or domestic—by the Templars, to whom the Noble Sanctuary had been granted. When Saladin retook the Holy City, it was in the third generation, counting from those who had been dispossessed by Godfrey de Bouillon, and many of the Muslim traditions attached to the then extant buildings of the Haram Area had doubtless been forgotten or become falsified.

Of the Haram Area in general, in the beginning of the tenth century we have two accounts (dating from 903 and 913), which, judging from their points of coincidence, may possibly have been derived from the same source. It is not certain whether either of the respective authors of these accounts (Ibn al Fakîh and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih) ever personally visited the places they purpose to describe. Portions of these accounts have been frequently copied by subsequent writers, and notably by Suyûti, from whom Mujir ad Din has so freely plagiarized. (See above, p. 148.) Some of the details mentioned in these two accounts have already been commented upon in the foregoing pages; the description of the other small buildings described as occupying the Haram Area in the tenth century will now be noted and compared with the accounts that have come down to us from other sources. First,

however, it will be well to give complete translations of the two descriptions of the Haram Area.

Ibn al Fakih's description, written in 903, is as follows :

"It is said that the length of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem is 1,000 ells, and its width 700 ells. There are (in its buildings) four thousand beams of wood, seven hundred pillars (of stone), and five hundred brass chains. It is lighted every night by one thousand six hundred lamps, and it is served by one hundred and forty slaves. The monthly allowance of olive-oil is 100 kists,* and yearly they provide 800,000 ells of matting, also twenty-five thousand water-jars. Within the Noble Sanctuary are sixteen chests for the volumes of the Kurân set apart for public service, and these manuscripts are the admiration of all men. There are four pulpits for voluntary preachers, and one set apart for the salaried preacher; and there are also four tanks for the ablutions. On the various roofs (of the Mosque and domes), in place of clay, are used forty-five thousand sheets of lead. To the right hand of the Mihrâb (in the Aksâ Mosque) is a slab on which, in a circle, is written the name of Mohammed—the blessing of Allah be upon him!—and on a white stone behind the Kiblah (wall, to the south) is the inscription: *In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate, Mohammed is Allah's Apostle. Hamzah was his helper.*† Within the Mosque are three Maksûrahs (or railed spaces) for the women, each Maksûrah being 70 ells in length. There are within and without (the Noble Sanctuary) in all fifty gates (and doors)."

Next follows the description of the Dome of the Rock and the minor domes already translated (p. 120). Ibn al Fakih then continues :

"Among the gates (of the Haram Area) are Bâb Dâûd, Bâb Hittah, Bâb an Nabi (Gate of the Prophet), Bâb at Taubah (Gate of Repentance), and there is here the Mihrâb Maryam (Prayer-niche of Mary), Bâb al Wâdi, Bâb ar Rahmah (Gate of Mercy), with the Mihrâb Zakariyyâ, Abwâb al Asbât (the Gates of the

* The Kist (from the Greek $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$, and the Roman Sextarius) was equivalent to about a quart and a half of our measure.

† The Prophet's uncle, who fell at the Battle of Ohod.

Tribes), with the Cave of Abraham, the Mihrâb of Jacob, and Bâb Dâr Umm Khâlid (the Gate of the House of Khalid's Mother). Outside the Haram Area at the City Gate to the west is the Mihrâb Dâûd (David's Prayer-niche). The place of the tying-up of (the steed) Al Burâk is in the angle of the southern minaret. The Spring of Siloam ('Ain Sulwân) lies to the south of the Haram Area. The Mount of Olives overlooks the Haram Area, being separated therefrom by the Wâdî Jahannum. From (the Mount of Olives) Jesus was taken up; across (the Wâdî) will extend the bridge As Sirât; and there, too, is the Place of Prayer of the Khalif 'Omar, also many of the tombs of the prophets." (I. F., 100, 101.)

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's notice, written some ten years later than the above, differs in some of the details. It is as follows:

"Description of the Mosque of the Holy City, and what therein is of Holy Places of the Prophets.—The length of the Haram Area is 784 ells, and its breadth 455 ells, of the ells of the Imâm.* They light the Noble Sanctuary with 1,500 lamps, and in its structures have been employed 6,900 beams of wood. Its gates are 50 in number, and there are 684 columns. Within the Sakhrâh (the Dome of the Rock) are 30 columns, and the columns which are outside the Sakhrâh are 18 in number.† The Dome is covered by means of 3,392 sheets of lead, over which are placed plates of brass, gilded, which number 10,210. The total number of the lamps that light the Sakhrâh is 464, which hang by hooks and chains of copper. The height of the Sakhrâh of the Holy City (in ancient days), when it reached heavenward, was 12 miles, and the people of Jericho (to the east) profited by its shadow, as did also those of 'Amwâs (Emmaus, to the west); and there was set over it (in the early times) a red ruby, which shone, giving light even to the people of the Balkâ, so that those who lived there were able to spin by the light thereof. In the Masjid

* If the reading *Imâm* be correct, the Imâm in question is doubtless the Khalif 'Ali, who inaugurated many novelties besides the standard of the ell.

† See p. 122. It will be observed that *As Sakhrâh* (the Rock) is used to denote both the Dome and the Rock itself; just as *Al Masjid* means the whole Haram Area, and more particularly the Mosque (or Masjid) Al Aksâ in its southern part.

(al Aksâ?) are three Maksûrahs (enclosed spaces) for the women, the length of each Maksûrah being 80 ells, and its breadth 50 ells.* In the Mosque are 600 chains for the suspending of the lamps, each chain being 18 ells in length; also seventy copper sieves† (*Ghirbâl*), and seven cone-shaped stands (called *Sanaubarât*) for the lamps. Further, seventy complete copies of the Kurân, and six copies of greater size, each page of which is made of a single skin of parchment; these last are placed on desks. The Noble Sanctuary contains ten Mihrâbs, fifteen Domes, twenty-four cisterns for water, and four minarets, from whence they make the call to prayer. All the roofs, that is, of the Mosque, the Domes, and the minarets, are covered with gilded plates. Of servants appointed to its service, there are, together with their families, in all 230 persons, called Mamlûks (slaves), all of whom receive their rations from the Public Treasury. Monthly there is allowed (for the Noble Sanctuary) 700 Kists Ibrahîmî of olive-oil, the weight of the Kist being a Ratl and a half of the larger weight ‡ The allowance yearly of mats is 8,000 of the same. For the hanks of cotton for the wicks of the lamps, they allow yearly 12 Dinârs (£6); for lamp-glasses, 33 Dinârs; and for the payment of the workmen, who repair the various roofs in the Noble Sanctuary, there is 15 Dinârs yearly.

“Of Holy Places of the Prophets in Jerusalem are the following: Under the corner of the (Aksâ) Mosque is the spot where the Prophet tied up his steed, Al Burâk. Of gate leading into the Noble Sanctuary are the Bâb Dâûd, the Bâb Sulaimân, and the Bâb Hittah, which last is intended by Allah when he saith:§ ‘Say ye, Hittah (forgiveness), and there is no God but Allah;’ but some men say *Hintah* (wheat), making a jest thereof, for which may Allah curse them in their impiety! Also there are the Bâb Muhammad, and the Bâb at Taubah (the Gate of Repentance), where Allah vouchsafed repentance to David. And the Bâb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy), of which Allah has made mention in His Book, saying:|| ‘A gate, within which is Mercy; while without

* See p. 100.

† What purpose these served is unknown.

‡ That is, about nine pounds to the Kist.

§ Kurân, ii. 55.

|| Kurân, lvii. 13.

the same is the 'Torment,' alluding to the Wâdî Jahannum, which lies on the east of the Holy City. And the Abwâb al Asbât (the Gates of the Tribes), the tribes being the Tribes of the Children of Israel; and the Gates here are six in number. Also the Bâb al Walîd, the Bâb al Hâshimi, the Bâb al Khidr (the Gate of Elias or St. George), and the Bâb as Sakinah (the Gate of the Shechina, or Divine Presence).

"In the Noble Sanctuary further are the Mihrâb of Mary (Mother of Jesus), the daughter of 'Amrân, whither the Angels were wont to bring her fruits of winter during the summer-time, and summer-fruits in the winter-time. Also the Mihrâb of Zakariyyâ (father of John the Baptist), where the Angels gave him the good news (of the birth) of John, at a time when he was standing praying therein. Also the Mihrâb Ya'kûb (Jacob), and the Kursî Sulaimân (the Throne of Solomon), where he used to pray to Allah; and the Minaret of Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, whither he was wont to retire for worship. There are likewise here the Dome whence the Prophet (Muhammad) made his ascent into Heaven; the Dome over the spot where the Prophet prayed with the Prophets (of old); also the Dome where, during the times of the Children of Israel, there did hang down the Chain that gave judgment (of truth or lying) between them. Further, the Praying-place of Gabriel (Musallâ Jibrâîl), and the Praying-place of Al Khidr (Elias).

"Now when thou enterest the Sakhrâh (or Dome of the Rock), make thy prayer in the three corners thereof; and also pray on the slab which rivals the Rock itself in glory, for it lies over a gate of the Gates of Paradise. The birthplace of Jesus, the son of Mary, is (at Bethlehem) about 3 miles distant from the Noble Sanctuary; Abraham's Mosque (which is Hebron), wherein is his tomb, is 18 miles from the Holy City. The (Malikite) Mihrâb of this Mosque lies on the western side. And among the excellent sights of the Holy City are these. The place of the Bridge As Sirât is in the Holy City, and from Jahannum (Hell)—may Allah keep us therefrom!—it will reach even unto the Holy City. On the Day of Resurrection Paradise will be brought as a bride to the Holy City, and the Ka'abah also shall come thither with her, so

that men will exclaim, 'All hail to those who come as pilgrims! and all hail to her to whom pilgrimage is made!' And the Black Stone shall be brought, in bridal procession, to the Holy City; and the Black Stone on that day shall be greater in size than the Hill of Abu Kubais.* Among the Excellencies of the Holy City are these, namely: that Allah did take up His Prophet into Heaven from the Holy City, as likewise Jesus, the son of Mary. And verily in the last days the Antichrist shall conquer Christ in all and every part of the earth, excepting only in the Holy City. And Allah hath forbidden Gog and Magog to set foot in the Holy City. Lastly, all the Saints and Holy Men of God are from the Holy City, and Adam and Moses and Joseph, and the great company of the Prophets of the Children of Israel all left by testament the command that they should be buried in the Holy City." (I. R., iii. 366-368.)

Mukaddasi, writing in 985, corroborates some of the details mentioned by the two foregoing authorities. He notes:

"Of the holy places within (the Haram Area) are the Mihrâb Maryam (the Oratory of Mary), Zakariyyah (of Zachariah), Ya'kûb (of Jacob), and Al Khidr (of Elias, or St. George), the Station of the Prophet (*Makâm an Nabi*), and of Jibrâîl (Gabriel), the Place of the Ant, and of the Fire, and of the Ka'abah, and also of the Bridge As Sirât, which shall divide Heaven and Hell. Now, the dimensions of the Haram Area are: length, 1,000 ells—of the royal Hashimite ell—and width, 700. In the ceiling of its various edifices there are four thousand wooden beams, supported on seven hundred marble columns, and the roofs are overlaid with forty-five thousand sheets of lead. The measurement of the Rock itself is 33 ells by 27, and the cavern which lies beneath will hold sixty-nine persons. The endowment provides monthly for 100 Kists of olive-oil, and in each year they use 800,000 ells of matting. The Mosque is served by special attendants; their service was instituted by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, the men being chosen from among the Royal Fifth of the captives taken in war, and hence they are called Al Akhmâs (the Quintans). None besides these are employed in the service,

* The hill overhanging the city of Makkah on the west.

and they take their watch in turn beside the Rock." (Muk., 170, 171.)

The various points of interest in the preceding descriptions must now be noticed in detail, and compared with the descriptions derived from other authorities.

The Cradle of Jesus.—The small Mosque in the substructures of the ancient tower at the south-eastern angle of the Haram Area, known at the present day as the Cradle of Jesus, is spoken of by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (see above, p. 164) under the name of "The Mihrâb of Mary, the daughter of 'Amrân (and Mother of Jesus)." Mukaddasi, too, mentions among the Holy places in the Haram Area "The Mihrâb Maryam and Zakariyyah."

The earliest detailed description of this spot is to be found in Nâsir's diary. He writes: "Adjacent to the East Wall, and when you have reached the south (eastern) angle (of the Haram Area)—the Kiblah-point lying before you, south, but somewhat aside—there is an underground Mosque, to which you descend by many steps. It is situated immediately to the north of the (South) Wall of the Haram Area, covering a space measuring 20 ells by 15, and the chamber has a roof of stone, supported on marble columns. Here was of old the Cradle of Jesus. The Cradle is of stone, and large enough for a man to make therein his prayer prostrations, and I myself said my prayers there. The Cradle is fixed into the ground, so that it cannot be moved. This Cradle is where Jesus was laid during His childhood, and where He held converse with the people. The Cradle itself, in this Mosque, has been made the Mihrâb (or oratory); and there is, likewise, on the east side of this Mosque the Mihrâb Maryam (or Oratory of Mary), and another Mihrâb, which is that of Zakariyyâ (Zachariah)—peace be upon him! Above these Mihrâbs are written the verses revealed in the Kurân that relate respectively to Zachariah and to Mary. They say that Jesus—peace be upon Him!—was born in the place where this Mosque now stands. On the shaft of one of the columns there is impressed a mark as though a person had gripped the stone with two fingers; and they say that Mary, when taken in the pangs of labour, did thus with one hand seize upon the stone, leaving this mark thereon. This Mosque is known by

the title of Mahd 'Îsâ (the Cradle of Jesus)—peace be upon Him !—and they have suspended a great number of lamps there of silver and of brass, that are lighted every night.” (N. Kh., 33.)

During the occupation of the Crusaders, the Templars used these substructures under the south-east angle of the Haram Area for the stabling of their horses, and by the Latin chroniclers the place is mentioned under the name of the Stables of Solomon. 'Ali of Herat, who wrote in 1173, during the Latin occupation, speaks of these substructures under this name. He writes :

“ Below the Haram Area are the Stables of Solomon, where he kept his beasts ; and they say there are here in the walls stones of enormous size, and the mangers for the beasts are to be seen even to this day. There are also here the Caverns known as the Cradle of Jesus, the son of Mary—peace be upon Him !” (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 39.)

Previous to the advent of the Crusaders, many buildings stood in the great Court of the Noble Sanctuary, no traces of which remain at present ; and, from the descriptions of Mujîr ad Dîn and Suyûtî, many would seem to have already disappeared at the date of Saladin's re-occupation of the Holy City. Thus Nâsir-i-Khusrau, in 1047, writes :

“ In the Court of the Haram Area, but not upon the Platform, is a building resembling a small Mosque. It lies towards the north side, and is a walled enclosure (*hadhîrah*), built of squared stones, with walls of over a man's height. It is called the Mihrâb Dâûd (or the Oratory of David). Near this enclosure is a rock, standing up about as high as a man, and the summit of it, which is uneven, is rather smaller than would suffice for spreading thereon a (prayer) rug. This place they say was the Throne of Solomon (Kursi Sulaimân), and they relate that Solomon—peace be upon him !—sat thereon while occupied with building the Noble Sanctuary.”

This Mihrâb Dâûd, which is said to be in the northern portion of the Haram Area, and near the Kursî Sulaiman, can hardly be the place named at present the “ Oratory of David,” which is a niche in the great *south* wall of the Haram Area. It is probably the same building as the Kubbat Sulaimân of Mujîr ad Dîn,

before the Bâb al 'Atm, and immediately to the south-west of that gate. (Plan facing p. 172, at V.)

As regards the identification of the Mihrâb of David, Suyûti, writing in 1470, discusses the subject in the following terms :

"Now, as to the Mihrâb Dâûd, there is diversity of opinion as to its identification. Some say it is the great Mihrâb, which is in the south wall of the Haram Area ; others, that it is the great Mihrâb in the neighbourhood of the Minbar (or pulpit of the Aksâ Mosque). The author of the work called *Al Fath al Kudsi* asserts that the Mihrâb of David is in the Castle of the Holy City, in the place where David was wont to pray. For his dwelling being in the Castle, here, also, was his place of worship. Now, the Mihrâb, whereof mention, by Allah, is made in the Kurân in the words (chapter xxxviii. 20), 'When they mounted the wall of the Mihrâb,' is generally admitted to be the Mihrâb of David, where he prayed, and this was situated in the Castle, that being his place of worship ; while the spot now known as the great Mihrâb, which is inside the Haram Area, is looked upon as the place where David was wont to pray when he came into the Haram Area. When 'Omar came hither, he sought to follow in David's steps, and made his prayer in the place where David had prayed. Hence the place came to be called the Mihrâb of 'Omar, from the fact of his having prayed there for the first time on the day of the capitulation of Jerusalem : but originally this had been named the Mihrâb of David. In confirmation of this is the fact of 'Omar's known veneration of this spot. For when he asked of Ka'ab, 'Which place wishest thou that we should institute as the place of our prayer in this Sacred Area?' and Ka'ab had answered, 'In the hinder part thereof, where it may be near the Sakhrâh, so that the two Kiblahs (namely, of Moses and of Muhammad) may be united,' 'Omar had said, 'O Abu Ishak, so thou wouldst act still in Jew fashion? Are we not a people to whom the fore part of the Holy Area belongs as of right?'"* Then 'Omar marked out the Mihrâb, which had been that of David, and where he had been wont to worship in the Haram Area. Thus 'Omar's opinion, and his veneration for this spot, both confirm the view that David, in

* See p. 142.

ancient times, had fixed on this place, and had chosen the same as his place of prayer." (S., 262-264.)

Besides the building called the Oratory of David, Nâsir mentions two other Domes as standing in the northern part of the Haram Area. The first of these—the Dome of Jacob (Kubbat Ya'kûb)—he says, stood near the colonnade, running along the wall from the present Bâb Hittah—then called the Gate to the Cloisters of the Sufis—to the north-west angle of the Haram Area. (See below, p. 176 ; also on Plan facing p. 150, at X.)

The other dome stood apparently in the north-east angle of the Haram Area (Plan facing p. 150, W). It was called the Oratory of Zachariah (Mihrâb Zakariyyâ). Of this no trace remains at the present day. The Dome of Jacob is probably that now known under the name of the Kubbat Sulaimân, the Dome of Solomon. (Plan facing p. 172, U.)

Concerning the Throne of Solomon, which Mukaddasi and Nâsir both mention, the following traditional account is given by Suyûtî :

"It is also related that Solomon—God's prophet—when he had finished the building (of the Temple), sacrificed three thousand heifers and seven thousand ewes at the place which is in the after (or northern) part of the Haram Area, in the vicinity of the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). This is the spot which is now occupied by the building called the Throne of Solomon." (S., 258 ; see Plan facing p. 172, V.)

This passage is copied by Mujîr ad Dîn, who, however, adds that, according to the received tradition of his day, the place which is known as the Kursî Sulaimân is within the dome known as the Dome of Sulaimân, near the Bâb ad Duwaidariyyah. (M. a. D., 111 ; Plan facing p. 172, U.)

Of other Domes, Mujîr ad Dîn (in 1496) mentions the following :

"Kubbat Mûsâ (the Dome of Moses) stands opposite the Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain). It is not called after Moses, and has no traditional connection with him. It was rebuilt in 649 (1251), and was anciently called Kubbat ash Shajarah, the Dome of the Tree." (M. a. D., 375.)

“Kubbat at ‘Tûmâr, the Dome of the Roll, stands on the edge of the platform at the south-east corner.” (M. a. D., 376.)

Speaking of the minarets of the Haram Area, Mujîr ad Dîn writes: “The four minarets occupy the same position as did those of the days of ‘Abd al Malik. The first of them is at the south-west angle of the Haram Area, above the Madrasah of Fakhr ad Dîn. The second is above the Gate of the Chain. The third is at the north-west angle, and is called Mâdhanat al Ghawânimah. It is near the gate of that name (Plan facing p. 172, at F), and was rebuilt about the year 697 (1298). The fourth is the minaret between the Gate of the Tribes and the Gate Hittah. It was rebuilt in 769 (1367).” (M. a. D., 379, 380.)

In conclusion it may be useful briefly to recapitulate the various minor Domes and Shrines of the Haram Area, mentioned by the authorities prior to the first Crusade, after which date so many alterations were effected among the edifices of the Noble Sanctuary.

The present Dome of the Ascension is that called the Dome of the Prophet, by Ibn al Fakîh; the Dome of the Ascension, by both Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih and Mukaddasi; and the Dome of the Prophet, by Nâsir-i-Khusrau.

The present Dome of Gabriel (close to the Dome of the Rock) is that called the Station of Jibrâîl, by Ibn al Fakîh; the Prayer-station of Jibrâîl, by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih; the Dome of the Prophet, by Mukaddasi; and the Dome of Jibrâîl, by Nâsir-i-Khusrau.

The Dome where the Prophet prayed with the Former Prophets is mentioned by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih. Mukaddasi also speaks of the Station of the Prophet, and the Station of Gabriel, as among the Shrines in the Haram Area.

The Station of Al Khidr (St. George or Elias) is mentioned by Ibn al Fakîh, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih and Mukaddasi, the last naming it a Mihrâb.

The present Cradle of Jesus is mentioned by Ibn al Fakîh, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, Mukaddasi, and Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who also speak of the Mihrâb Maryam, and the Mihrâb Zakariyyah.

Another Mihrâb Zakariyyah, or Dome, near the north-west angle of the Haram Area, is also mentioned by Nâsir-i-Khusrau (unknown at the present day).

The Cave of Abraham is mentioned by Ibn al Fakih, and the Minaret of Abraham by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (both unknown at the present day).

The Place of the Ant, the Place of the Fire, and the Place of the Ka'abah, are all mentioned by Mukaddasi.

The Mihrâb of Jacob is mentioned by Ibn al Fakih, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, and Mukaddasi ; the Dome of Jacob, in the north part of the Noble Sanctuary, is described by Nâsir-i-Khusrau.

The Mihrâb of David, in the north part of the Haram Area, is mentioned by Nâsir-i-Khusrau.

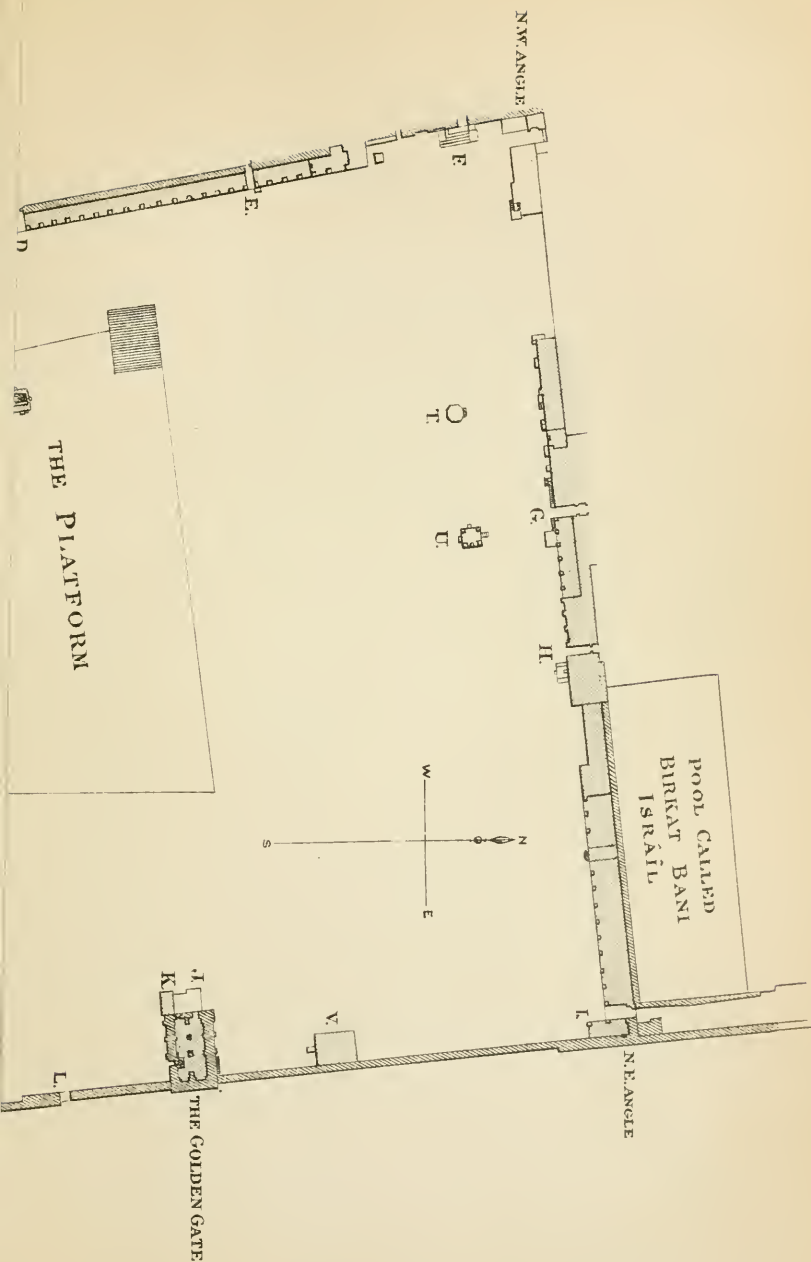
The Throne of Solomon is mentioned by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih and Nâsir-i-Khusrau.

The place of the Bridge between Heaven and Hell, called As Sirât, is mentioned by Ibn al Fakih, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, and Mukaddasi.

The tying-up place of the steed Burâk is mentioned by Ibn al Fakih and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN OF THE HARAM AREA AT THE
PRESENT DAY.

- A. Bâb as Silsilah, Gate of the Chain.
- B. Bâb al Mutawaddâ, Gate of the Place of the Ablution ; or Bâb al Matârah, Gate of Rain.
- C. Bâb al Kattânin, Gate of the Cotton Merchants.
- D. Bâb al Hadîd, Gate of Iron.
- E. Bâb an Nâdhîr, Gate of the Inspector.
- F. Bâb al Ghawânimah, Gate of the Ghânim Family.
- G. Bâb al 'Atm, Gate of the Darkness ; also called Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ, Gate of the Glory of the Prophets, or Bâb ad Dawâdariyyah, Gate of the Secretariat.
- H. Bâb Hittah, Gate of Remission.
 - I. Bâb al Asbât, Gate of the Tribes.
 - J. Bâb at Taubah, Gate of Repentance.
 - K. Bâb ar Rahmah, Gate of Mercy. } The Golden Gate.
- L. Walled-up Gate, anciently called Bâb al Janâiz, Gate of the Funerals, or Bâb al Burâk.
- M. Ancient "Single Gate," walled up.
- N. Ancient "Triple Gate," walled up.
- O. Ancient "Double Gate," leading to the underground Passage-way, under the Aksâ Mosque.
- P. Bâb al Maghâribah, Gate of the Western Africans ; below it is the now walled-up Bâb an Nabî, Gate of the Prophet.
- Q. Kulbat as Silsilah, Dome of the Chain.
- R. Kubbat al Mi'râj, Dome of the Ascension.
- S. Kubbat Jibrâil, Dome of Gabriel.
- T. Kursî 'Îsâ, Throne of Jesus.
- U. Kubbat Sulaimân, Dome of Solomon.
- V. Kursi Sulaimân, Throne of Solomon.
- W, W'. Mahd 'Îsâ, Cradle of Jesus, and the Stables of Solomon.
- X. Madrasah, or College, called Al Fârisiyyah.
- Y. Jâmi' al Maghâribah, or Mosque of the Moghrebins.
- Z. Bâka'at al Baidâ, called incorrectly the Old Aksâ, in Crusading times the Armoury of the Templars.



PLAN OF THE HARAM AREA
at the Present Day



CHAPTER V.

JERUSALEM (*continued*).

The Gates of the Haram Area—The Colonnades—Size of the Haram Area—The Tanks and Pools.

The Church of the Resurrection: The Miracle of the Holy Fire—The Garden of Gethsemane—The Tomb of the Virgin—Pater Noster Church and Bethany—The Church of the Ascension and of the Jacobites—The Church of Sion and Gallicantus.

City Gates: The Castle—*Wadi Jahannum* and the Tomb of Absalom.

The Plain, As Sâhirah: The Pool of Siloam—The Well of Job—Cavern of Korah.

THE GATES OF THE HARAM AREA.

IN the identification of the Gates leading into the Haram Area, named in the various authorities, I cannot do better than quote verbatim from a paper contributed by Colonel Sir C. Wilson to the Palestine Exploration Fund "Quarterly Statement" for July, 1888 (p. 141), which is also inserted as Appendix C to my translation of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's Diary, published in the *Palestine Pilgrim Texts*. In these proposed identifications I thoroughly concur, and take this opportunity of expressing how much I feel indebted to Sir C. Wilson for the aid he has afforded me in clearing up this somewhat knotty point.

Before, however, entering on the subject of the identification of the Gates, it will be convenient to recapitulate the lists given by Ibn al Fakîh, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, our two earliest authorities. Following this will come Mukaddasi's list, then Nâsir-i-Khusrau's detailed notice of the Gates in 1047, after which we shall be in a position to discuss the identification of the various names recorded of the ancient Gates with those that at present exist.

Ibn al Fakîh, 903, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 913, the two earliest authorities, do not apparently attempt to name the Gates *in order*,

but only at haphazard and incidentally to the general account of the Domes and Mihrâbs of the Haram Area. These Gates they mentioned are the following (see above, pp. 161-164) :

| IBN AL FAKÎH. | IBN 'ABD RABBIH. |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Bâb Dâûd. | Bâb Dâûd. |
| | Bâb Sulaimân. |
| Bâb Hittah. | Bâb Hittah. |
| Bâb an Nabî. | Bâb Muhammad. |
| Bâb at Taubah. | Bâb at Taubah. |
| Bâb al Wâdî. | |
| Bâb ar Rahmah. | Bâb ar Rahmah. |
| Abwâb al Asbât. | Abwâb al Asbât |
| | (six in number). |
| Bâb Dâr Umm Khâlid. | |
| | Bâb al Walid. |
| | Bâb al Hâshimi. |
| | Bâb al Khidr. |
| | Bâb as Sakînah. |

The next list is that given by Mukaddasi in 985. He writes :

"The Haram Area is entered through thirteen openings, closed by a score of Gates. These are :

- (1) The Bâb Hittah (the Gate of Remission).
- (2) The two Gates of the Prophet.
- (3) The Gates of the Mihrâb Maryam
(the Gates of Mary's Oratory).
- (4) The two Gates Ar Rahmah (of Mercy).
- (5) The Gate of the Birkat (Pool of) Bani Israil.
- (6) The Gates Al Asbât (of the Tribes).
- (7) The Hashimite Gates.
- (8) The Gate of Al Walid.
- (9) The Gate of Ibrahim (Abraham).
- (10) The Gate of Umm Khâlid (the Mother of Khâlid).
- (11) The Gate Dâûd (David)." (Muk., 170.)

In his eulogy on the beauties of Jerusalem, Mukaddasi further mentions "the Bâb as Sakînah (The Gate of the Shechinah)

and the Kubbat as Silsilah (the Dome of the Chain).” (Muk., 151.)

Between Mukaddasi’s descriptions in 985, and Nâsir’s visit in 1047, the earthquakes occurred which so seriously damaged the Aksâ Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. (See p. 101.) The Gates doubtless also suffered damage; the walls of the Haram Area, as we know from the inscriptions (see p. 101), were certainly in part overthrown; and when the Gateways were rebuilt after the earthquakes, they presumably were given in some cases new names.

Nâsir-i-Khusrau writes of the Gates in the following terms :

“The Area of the Noble Sanctuary is paved with stone, the joints being set in lead.

(i. *) “As we have said before, the Haram Area lies in the eastern part of the city; and through the bazaar of this (quarter) you enter the Area by a great and beautiful gateway, that measures 30 ells (60 feet) in height, by 20 across. The gateway has two wings, in which open halls, and the walls of both gateway and halls are adorned with coloured enamels, set in plaster, cut into patterns so beautiful that the eye becomes dazzled in contemplating them. Over the gateway is an inscription, which is set in the enamels, giving the titles of the Sultan (who is the Fatimite Khalif) of Egypt; and when the sun’s rays fall on this it shines so that the sight is bewildered at the splendour thereof. There is also a great Dome that crowns this gateway, which is built of squared stones. Closing the gateway are two carefully-constructed doors. These are faced with Damascene brass-work, which you would take to be gold, for they are gilt, and ornamented with figured designs. Each of these doors is 15 ells (30 feet) in height, by 8 ells across. The gateway we have just described is called the Bâb Dâûd (the Gate of David)—peace be upon him!

“After passing this Gateway of David (and entering the Haram Area), you have, on the right, two great colonnades,† each

* The roman numerals show the order of the gates as they occur in the walls, and are here added for purposes of reference. (See Plan facing p. 150)

† These colonnades go along the western wall of the Haram Area (see p. 190).

of which has nine-and-twenty marble pillars, whose capitals and bases are of coloured marbles, and the joints are set in lead. Above the pillars rise arches that are constructed of masonry without mortar or cement, and each arch is constructed of no more than five or six blocks of stone. These colonnades lead down to near the Maksûrah (or Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque).* On your left hand (as you enter the Gate of David), and towards the north, there is likewise a long colonnade with sixty-four arches, supported by marble pillars.

(ii.) "In this part of the wall (that is, in the colonnade between the Gate of David and the north-west angle of the Haram Area) is the Gate called Bâb as Sakar (Gate of Hell).

(iv.) "In the north part (of the Haram Area) is a double gateway, the Gates of which are placed side by side, each being 7 ells across, by 12 high. This gateway is called the Bab al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes).

(v.) "When you have passed this Gate of the Tribes, there is still another great gateway in the breadth of the Haram Area (or the North Wall) in the portion running eastward. There are here three Gates side by side, of a like size to the Bâb al Asbât, and they are each fashioned in iron, and adorned with brass, than which nothing can be finer. These (three) gates they call the Bâb al Abwâb (the Gate of Gates), for the reason that, whereas elsewhere the gateways are only double, there is here a triple gateway.

"Running along the north part of the Haram Area, and between the two gateways just mentioned, is a colonnade, with arches that rest on solid pillars; and adjacent thereto, a Dome that is supported by tall columns, and adorned with lamps and lanterns. This is called Kubbat Ya'kûb (the Dome of Jacob)—peace be upon him!—for at this spot was his place of prayer.

(iii.) "And further along the breadth (or Northern Wall) of the Haram Area is a colonnade, in the wall of which is a Gate that leads to two Cloisters belonging to the Sûfis, who have their

* The Main-building of the Aksâ Mosque is often referred to by Nâsir under the denomination of the "Maksûrah," which more properly is the name given to the railed oratory for the Sultan which the Mosque contains.

Dome of Aksâ Mosque

S W Angle

S E Angle



ELEVATION OF SOUTH WALL OF HARAM AREA.

S E Angle

N E Angle



ELEVATION OF EAST WALL OF HARAM AREA showing through breaks the level of the Court within

E. Weiler lith.

place of prayer here, and have built a fine Mihrâb (or oratory). There are always in residence a number of Sûfis, who make this (oratory) the place of their daily devotions; except on Friday, when they go into the Noble Sanctuary, in order to attend the service of prayer therein. At the north (west?) angle of the Haram Area is a fine colonnade, with a large and beautiful Dome. On this Dome* there is an inscription, stating that this was the Oratory (Mihrâb) of Zakariyyâ the Prophet—peace be upon him!—for they say that he was wont to continue ceaselessly in prayer at this spot.

(vi.) “In the Eastern Wall of the Haram Area there is a great gateway skilfully built of squared stones, so that one might almost say that the whole was carved out of a single block. Its height is 50 ells (100 feet), and its width 30, and it is sculptured and ornamented throughout. There are ten beautiful doors in this gateway (set so close) that between any two of them there is not the space of a foot. These doors are all most skilfully wrought in iron and Damascene brass-work, set in with bolts and rings. They say this gateway was constructed by Solomon, son of David—peace be upon him!—to please his father. When you enter this gateway, facing east, there are two great doors. The one on your right hand is called Bâb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy), and the other Bâb at Taubah (the Gate of Repentance); and they say of this last that it is the Gate where God—be He exalted and glorified!—accepted the repentance of David—upon whom be peace!

“Near this gateway is a beautiful Mosque.† In former times it was only a hall, but they turned the hall into a Mosque. It is spread with all manner of beautiful carpets, and there are servants especially appointed thereto. This spot is greatly frequented of the people, who go to pray therein, and seek communion with God—be He exalted and glorified!—for this being the place where David—peace be upon him!—was vouchsafed repentance, other men may hope to be turned likewise from their sinfulness.”

* Of this building no trace now exists. See p. 169.

† This I understand to refer to a building occupying the position of what is now known as Kursî Sulaiman, the Throne of Solomon (Plan facing p. 172, at V).

After describing the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus and the Great Aksâ Mosque (see pp. 105, 166), Nâsir continues :

“Beyond the Main-building (of the Aksâ), along the great (south) wall (of the Haram Area) afore-mentioned, rises a colonnade of two-and-forty arches,* the columns being all of coloured marble. This colonnade joins the one that is along the west (wall of the Area). Inside the Main-building (of the Aksâ) there is a tank in the ground, which, when the cover is set on, lies level with the floor, and its use is for the rain-water, which, as it comes down, drains therein.

(viii.a) “In the south wall (of the Haram Area) is a gate leading to the places for the ablution, where there is running water. When a person has need to make the ablution (before prayer), he goes down to this place, and accomplishes what is prescribed ; for had the place (of ablution) been set without the walls, by reason of the great size of the Haram Area, no one could have returned in time, and before the appointed hour for prayer had gone by.

“As I have written above, the Holy City stands on the summit of a hill, and its site is not on level ground. The place, however, where the Noble Sanctuary stands is flat and on the level ; but without the Area the enclosing wall varies in height in different places, seeing that where the fall is abrupt, the Haram wall is the highest, for the foundation of the wall lies at the bottom of the declivity ; and where the ground mounts, the wall, on the other hand, has, of need, been built less high. Wherever, in the city itself and in the suburbs, the level is below that in the Haram Area, they have made gateways, like tunnels cut through the ground, that lead up into the Court (of the Noble Sanctuary).

(viii.) “One such as these is called Bâb an Nabî (or the Gate of the Prophet)—peace and blessing be upon him !—which opens towards the Kiblah point—that is, towards the south. (The passage-way of this gate) is 10 ells broad, and the height varies by reason of the steps. In one place it is 5 ells high, and in

* See p. 191. This is in the space afterwards occupied by the Hall erected by the Knights Templars for their armoury, and which at the present day opens from the Aksâ Mosque, and is called Bakâ'at al Baidhâ, or Aksâ al Kadimah.

others the roof of the passage-way is 20 ells above you. Over this passage-way has been erected the Main-building of the (Aksâ) Mosque; for the masonry is so solidly laid, that they have been able to raise the enormous building that is seen here without any damage arising to what is below. They have made use of stones of such a size, that the mind cannot conceive how, by human power, they were carried up and set in place. It is said, however, that the building was accomplished by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon him! The Prophet—peace and blessing be upon him!—on the night of his ascent into heaven, passed into the Noble Sanctuary through this passage-way, for the gateway opens on the road from Makkah. Near it, in the wall, is seen the imprint on the stone of a great shield. It is said to be that of Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Mutallib, the Prophet's uncle—peace be upon him!—who once seated himself here with his shield slung on his back, and, leaning against the wall, left the mark of the same thereon. This gateway of the Haram leading into the tunnelled passage-way is closed by a double-leafed door, and the wall of the Haram Area outside it is of a height of near upon 50 ells. The reason for the piercing of this gateway was to enable the inhabitants of the suburb lying obliquely beyond to enter the Haram Area at their pleasure without having to pass through other quarters of the city. To the right of this gateway there is in the wall a block of stone 11* cubits high and 4 cubits across; and this is larger than any of the other stones of the wall, although there are many that measure 4 and 5 ells across, set in the masonry at a height of 30 and 40 ells."

(vii.) "In the width of the Haram Area there is a gate, opening towards the east, called Bâb al 'Ain (or the Gate of the Spring), passing out from which you descend a declivity to the Spring of Silwân (Siloam)."

(ix.) "There is also another gate, the passage-way of which is excavated in the ground, and it is called Bâb al Hittah (the Gate of Remission). They say that this is the gate by which God—be He exalted and glorified!—commanded the children of Israel to enter the Noble Sanctuary, according to His word—be He

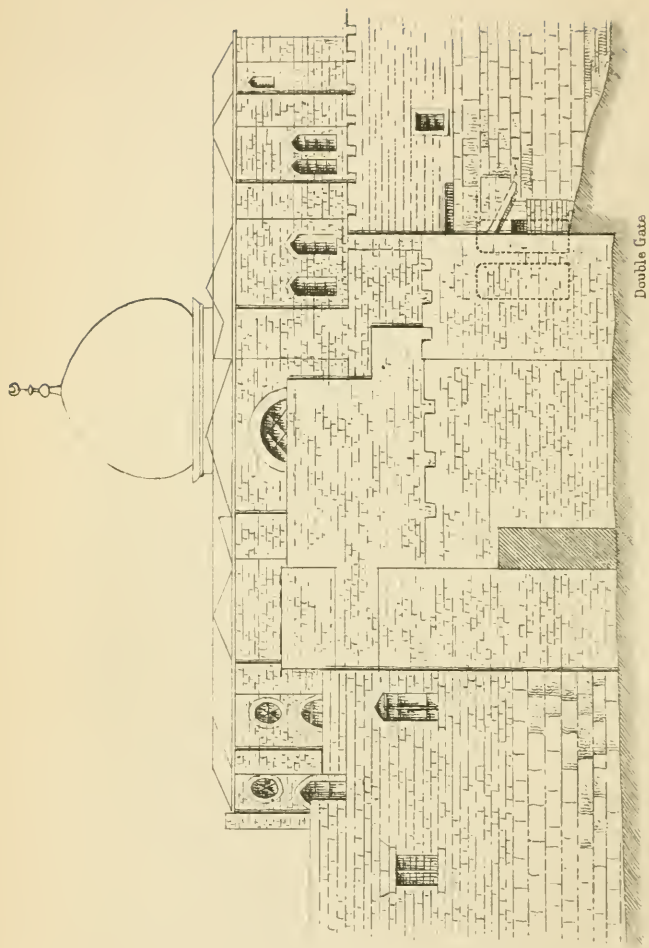
* Other MSS. read "fifteen." These are the stones in the Great Course.

exalted!—(in the Kurân, chapter ii. 55): ‘Enter ye the gate with prostrations, and say (Hittah), *Remission!* and We will pardon you your sins, and give an increase to the doers of good.’”

(i.a.) “There is still another gate (to the Haram Area), and it is called Bâb as Sakinah (the Gate of the Shechinah, or Divine Presence); and in the hall adjacent thereto is a mosque that has many Mihrâbs (or prayer-niches). The door of the entrance thereof is barred, so that no one can pass through. They say that the Ark of the Shechinah, which God—be He exalted and glorified!—has alluded to in the Kurân, was once placed here, but was borne away by angels. The whole number of gates, both upper and lower, in the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City is nine, as we have here enumerated them.” (N. Kh., pp. 29-32, 39-43.)

The key to the puzzle presented by the varied nomenclature of the gates of the Haram Area cannot be better given than in Sir C. Wilson’s own words. He writes:

‘A comparison of the descriptions of Mukaddasi (985 A.D.) and Nâsir-i-Khusrau (1047 A.D.) with each other, and with the description of Mujîr ad Dîn (1496 A.D.) and existing remains, enables me to identify many of the gates with some degree of certainty, and to show that a change took place in the Arab nomenclature of the gates between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries—possibly when Jerusalem was captured by Saladin. Nâsir describes the Bâb an Nabî (Gate of the Prophet) beneath the Mosque Al Aksâ in such terms as to leave no doubt of its identification with the double gateway and passage leading upwards from it beneath the Mosque to the Haram Area. He also mentions another gate—Bâb Hittah (Gate of Remission)—as being excavated in the ground; and the only known gate of the Haram of this character is the closed Gate of Muhammad, or of the Prophet, beneath the Bâb al Maghâribah. If, now, we turn to Mukaddasi’s list of gates, we find that he commences with Bâb Hittah, that his second gate is ‘the two Gates of the Prophet,’ and that he ends with the Gate Dâûd, which is, without dispute, the Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) of the present day. The inference I draw from this is that Mukaddasi named the gates in order, commencing with the Bâb



SOUTHERN END OF THE AKSA MOSQUE AND WALL OF HARAM AREA
showing the remains of Ancient Double Gate

E. Weller, 1904.

Hittah, and ending with the Bâb Dâûd, and not, as might have been supposed, at haphazard.

‘In attempting to identify the Gates with those which now exist, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Haram Area, with its buildings and the approaches to it, has been much altered at various periods, as, for instance, during the Latin kingdom, after the recapture of the city by the Saracens, and when the walls were rebuilt by the Sultan Sulaiman in the sixteenth century.’

Taking the list in the order given by Mukaddasi, and beginning with the Bâb Hittah, we must reverse the order of Nâsir’s enumeration, who, entering at the Bâb Dâûd, and turning to the *left*, takes the Gates in the contrary order to that we shall now follow. To the description given by Nâsir (already quoted) are here added the few notes taken from later authorities, ending with what Suyûtî, writing in 1470, has to tell of the history of the Gates after their restoration at the hands of Saladin’s successors. Suyûtî’s description has been copied verbatim by Mujir ad Dîn, who has added nothing to what he has borrowed without acknowledgment from his predecessor. The substance of the proposed identifications here following is taken from Sir C. Wilson’s paper referred to above.

Mukaddasi’s Bâb Hittah (I)* (Gate of Remission) is the Bâb al Hittah (ix.) of Nâsir, described (above, p. 179) as “excavated in the ground.” Ibn al Fakîh and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih both mention this Bâb Hittah (see p. 174). After the Crusaders, however, it appears to have changed its name, and the old Bâb Hittah can only be identified with the present Bâb al Burâk, or Bâb an Nabi Muhammad (often called “Barclay’s Gate”), which lies half underground, and which may now be entered beneath the modern Bâb al Maghâribah. Of the present Bâb al Maghâribah above this ancient Gate, Suyûtî writes as follows: “Bâb al Maghâribah (the Gate of the Mogrebins or Western Africans) is so called from its being in the neighbourhood of the Gate of the Mosque of the Mogrebins, where

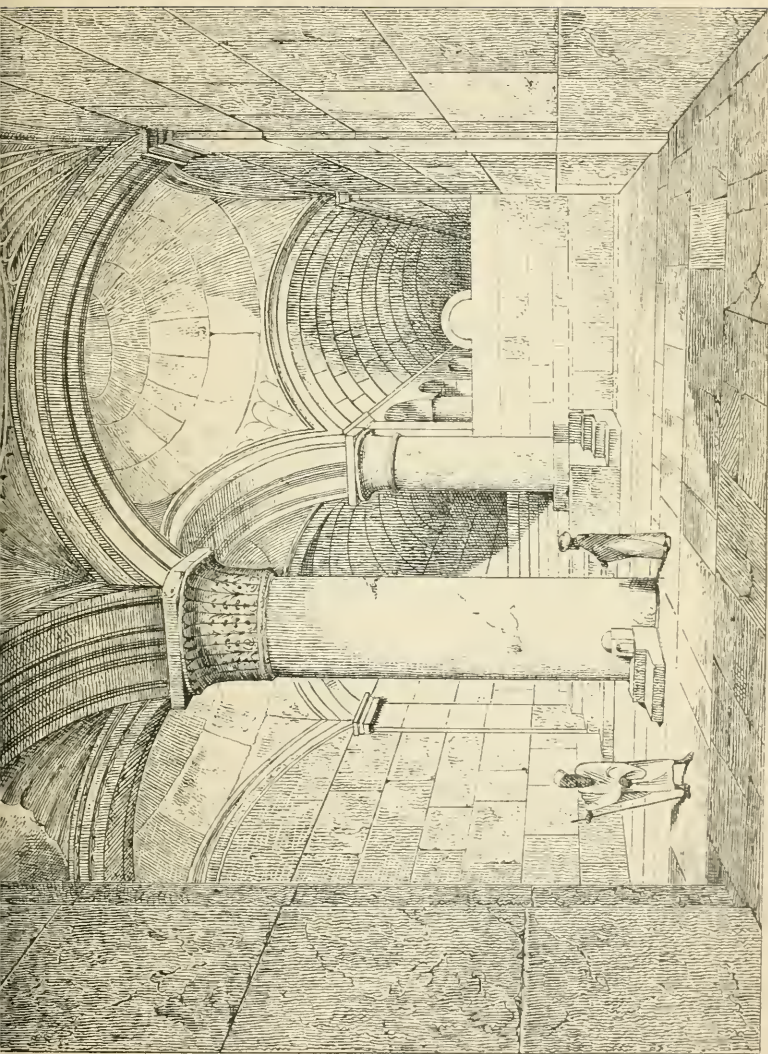
* The Arabic numerals (I) to (II), and the Roman numerals (i.) to (ix.) refer respectively to Mukaddasi’s and Nâsir’s enumeration of the Gates given on pp. 174-180.

they have their prayers. The quarter named from this Gate lies at the south-eastern corner of the City. This Gate is also called Bâb an Nabî (the Gate of the Prophet)." (S., 268 ; M. a. D., 383.)

Mukaddasi's "Two Gates of the Prophet" (2) (with Ibn al Fakih's Bâb an Nabî and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's Bâb Muhammad) must correspond with Nâsir's "Gate of the Prophet" (viii.), which is described as being like a tunnel in the South Wall, under the Aksâ, and leading up by steps into the Court of the Haram Area (see p. 178). This Gate (viii.) is, doubtless, the same as that referred to (viii.a) by Nâsir in another paragraph (p. 178) as "leading to the places for the ablution"—remains of water-pipes and cells being still shown at this point in the sub-structures of the Aksâ ; for the ancient Gate of the Prophet under the Aksâ can only be the so-called *Double Gate*, long since walled up, but still to be seen closing the southern side of the vaults under the Aksâ.* These vaults in Mujîr ad Dîn's time (1496) were known as *Al Aksâ al Kadîmah*, the Ancient Aksâ. (M. a. D., 379.) As late as the date of Ibn Batûtah's visit, in 1355, if we are to believe that traveller's account, the gateway here was still open. He writes : "On three sides (of the Haram Area) are many Gates, but on the Kiblah (or south) side it has, as far as I know, only one Gate, which is that by which the Imâm enters." (I. B., i. 121.) This Gate is not mentioned by either Suyûtî or Mujîr ad Dîn.

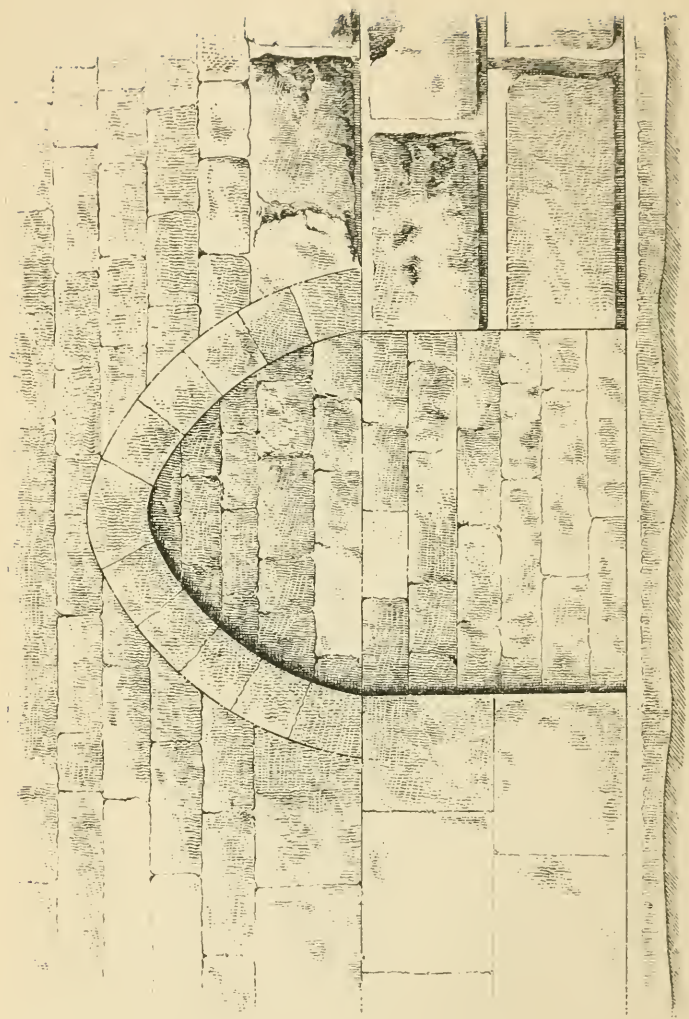
Mukaddasi's "Gates of the Mihrâb Maryam" (3) must have stood close to the Mihrâb of Mary (now called the Cradle of Jesus), mentioned by the same authority (see p. 165) ; these Gates apparently correspond with the Bâb al 'Ain (the Gate of the Spring), described by Nâsir (vii.), by which one could go down to Siloam (see p. 179). The ancient "Single Gate," or perhaps with greater probability the ancient "Triple Gate"—both in the eastern part of the South Wall, and leading to the sub-

* The illustration opposite shows the present appearance of this ancient passage-way. The view is taken from a point immediately within the walled-up gateway in the South Wall. The illustrations facing pp. 177 and 181 show the position and present appearance of the Double Gate from without.



F. Weller, del.

PASSAGE-WAY UNDER THE AKSÂ MOSQUE
LEADING UP FROM THE ANCIENT DOUBLE GATE
(from de Vogüé)



ANCIENT SINGLE GATE.
Exterior of South Wall of Haram Area

structures of the "Cradle of Jesus" and the "Stables of Solomon," and both of which Gates are now walled up—must, one or the other, be the modern representative of this Gate. The Templars, as before noted, stabled their horses in these substructures; and after Saladin's conquest of the Holy City, all means of egress from the Haram Area, except west and north through the city, being closed, all these Gates then came to be walled up.*

Ibn al Fakîh speaks of a Bâb al Wâdî (see p. 161), which, from its name, would appear likely to have opened on the Wâdî Jahannum (Kedron), on the east of the Haram Area. In this part of the Haram Wall, and somewhat to the south of the "Golden Gate," may still be seen a walled-up door, which probably occupies the position of the gateway mentioned by Ibn al Fakîh. Of this walled-up Gate, Mujîr ad Dîn notes as follows: "In the Eastern Wall of the Haram Area, to the south of the Gates of Mercy and Repentance, is a fine Gate now closed with masonry. It lies opposite the steps leading down from the Platform (of the Dome of the Rock) called Daraj (the Steps of) al Burâk. Some say this was the Gate al Burâk by which the Prophet entered on the occasion of his Night Journey. It was also formerly called Bâb al Janâiz (the Gate of the Funerals), for the funerals went out by it in ancient times." (M. a. D., 380.)

Apparently somewhere in this part of the wall there was yet another Gate, called the Gate of Jericho—not to be confounded with the *City* Gate of that name (see p. 214), now called the Gate of St. Stephen. Mujîr ad Dîn speaks of this Gate of Jericho as near the spot where Muhammad ibn Kurrâm—founder of the Kurramite sect—was buried in 255 (869). He adds: "The Gate known as the Gate of Jericho has disappeared long ago, and since the Frank occupation there is no trace of it. Apparently it must originally have opened at a place near the further end of the houses that are towards the Mount of Olives." (M. a. D., 262.)

Ibn al Fakîh's and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's Bâb ar Rahmah, and the

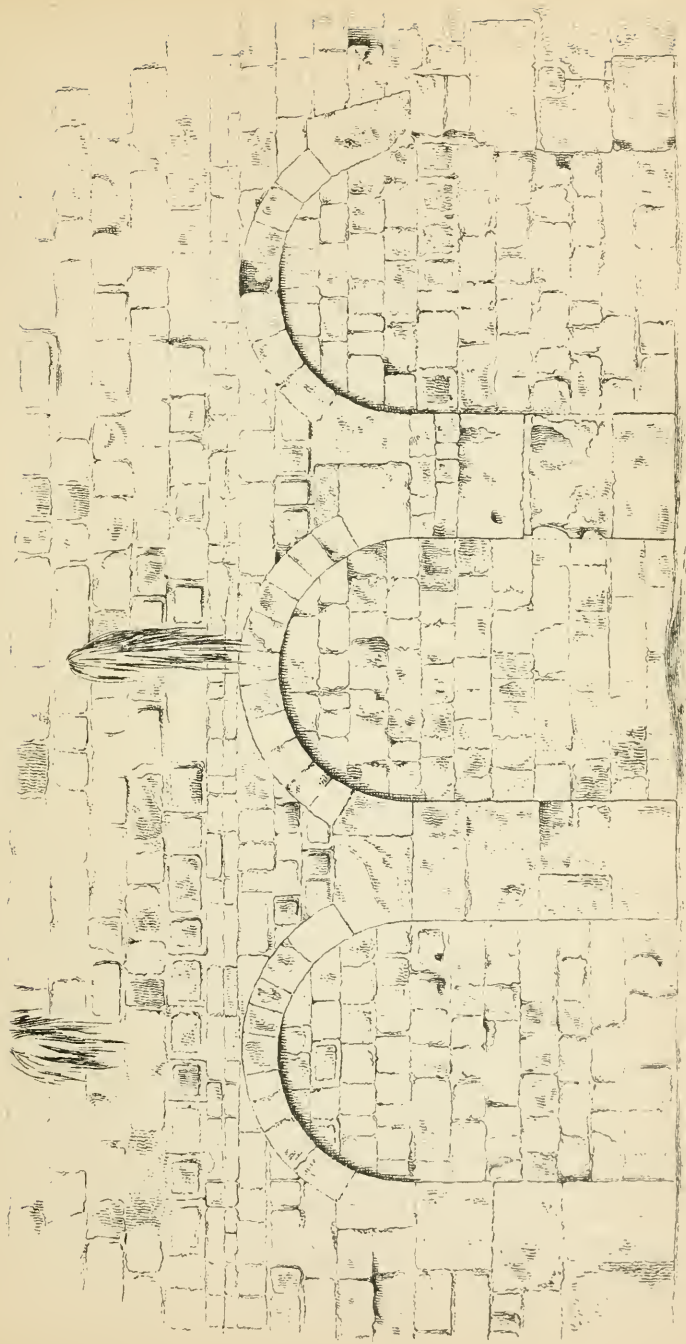
* The accompanying illustrations show the present appearance of these two walled-up Gates, the position of which in the South Wall is shown in the illustration facing p. 177.

"Two Gates Ar Rahmah" of Mukaddasi (4), are the Bâb ar Rahmah and the Bâb at Taubah (vi.) of Nâsir (see p. 177), namely, the great closed gateway in the East Wall, known at the present day to Europeans as the Golden Gate.* This Gateway is still known to the Muslims under the name of the Gates of Mercy and Repentance. Suyûti's account of it is as follows :

"The Bâb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy) lies to the east of the Aksâ Mosque, and is in the wall of which Allah has made mention in the words (of the Kurân, lvii. 13) : 'But between them (the Hypocrites and the Believers on the Judgment day) shall be set a wall with a gateway, within which is Mercy, while without the same is the Torment.' The valley which lies beyond this Gate is the Wâdî Jahannum. The Gate of Mercy itself is inside the wall which encloses the Haram Area, and the Gate referred to in the above verse of the Kurân as on the Wâdî Jahannum, is now closed, and will only be opened at some future time, and by the will of Allah—be He exalted ! And as to Bâb at Taubah (the Gate of Repentance), it joins and makes one with the Gate of Mercy, but through neither of them at the present day do men pass. Near the Gate of Repentance, and thus between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes, is the house (*Maskin*) of Al Khidr and Iliyâs (St. George and Elias)." (S., 265 ; M. a. D., 380.)

This, the so-called Golden Gate, according to M. de Vogüé (*Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 68), who judges from the architectural character of the building, dates from Byzantine times only, and, in fact, was probably completed as late as the sixth century A.D. The denomination of the "Golden Gate" does not occur apparently before the thirteenth century (Sæwulf), and the name (Porta Aurea) is due to a misunderstanding by the mediæval pilgrims, whose knowledge of Greek was rudimentary, of *Θύρα ὡραία*, "the gate called Beautiful," mentioned, in Acts iii. 2, as the spot where St. Peter healed the lame man. The site of this miracle, which must, from the context, have been performed near one of the inner gates of the Temple, the early pilgrims and the Crusaders, proceeding in their usually arbitrary manner, saw fit to locate at this Byzantine structure.

* See the illustration facing p. 177.



ANCIENT TRIPLE GATE.
Exterior of South Wall of Haram Area.

Mukaddasi's "Gate of the Birkat Bani Israil" (5) must be the easternmost gate in the north wall of the Haram Area, which Nâsir (see p. 176) calls the Bâb al Abwâb (the Gate of Gates) (v.), and which, since Crusading days, has always been known as the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). Suyûti writes of this gate as follows: "Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes) is in the hinder (or northern) part of the Haram Area, not far from the house of Al Khidr and Iliyâs (St. George and Elias). In the work called *Fadâil Bait al Mukaddas* (the 'Excellences of the Holy City'), by the Hâfidh Abu Bakr al Wâsiti the Khâtib, there is mention made of the Bâb Maskîn al Khidr (the Gate of Al Khidr's house) as standing here; but the author of the *Muthir al Ghirâm* gives no indication of any such gate having existed, although he mentions the house of Al Khidr when enumerating the saints who entered and sojourned in the Holy City. The author of the *Kitâb al Uns*, on the authority of Shahr ibn Jaushab, states that the house of Al Khidr is in the Holy City, at a spot between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes; and he goes on to say that Al Khidr was wont to pray every Friday in five different mosques—namely, in the Mosque of Makkah, and the Mosque of Al Madînah, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, and the Mosque of Kubâ (two miles south of Al Madînah), and on every Friday night in the Mosque of Sinai." (S., 266; M. a. D., 381.)

From the preceding paragraph it naturally follows that the Gate of the Tribes (Bâb al Asbât) mentioned by Ibn al Fakih and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (pp. 161, 164), also the gate of this name mentioned by Mukaddasi (6), and (iv.) described by Nâsir (see p. 176) as opening in the north wall west of the "Gate of Gates," must be identified with the gate, now and ever since Crusading times called Bâb al Hittah (the Gate of Remission). Suyûti, as will be seen, applies to this (northern) gate (writing in 1470) the legendary account which Nâsir (in 1047) related anent the more ancient Bâb Hittah at the south-west corner of the Haram Area. Suyûti writes: "*Bâb Hittah* (the Gate of Remission) is so called because the children of Israel were directed to enter their house of prayer thereby, saying, 'Remission, O Lord, for our sins.' The following is given on the authority of 'Ali ibn Sallâm ibn

'Abd as Sallâm, who was told by his father that he had heard Abu Muhammad ibn 'Abd as Sallâm state as follows—namely, that the Brazen Gate,* which is in the (Aksâ) Mosque, is the (celebrated) Bâb al Hamal al Ausât (the middle Ram Gate), and is of the workmanship of the Chosroes; and that the brazen gate which closes the (main) gateway† of the Haram Area is the Gate of David, through which he was wont to pass, going from Sion to Solomon's Market-place; while, lastly, the gate of the gateway known at present (in 1470) as the Bâb Hittah (Gate of Remission) was formerly at Jericho, which city having come to ruin, the gate was transported from thence to the Noble Sanctuary." (S., 267; M. a. D., 381.)

The Hashimite Gates mentioned by Mukaddasi (7), and possibly the gate of the same name (but noted in inversed order) given by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (see p. 164), most probably correspond to the gate (iii.) said by Nâsir (p. 176) to lead to the Cloisters of the Sufis, and to open in the north wall west of his (Nâsir's) Bâb al Asbât. It would, therefore, correspond with the modern Bâb al 'Atm (Gate of the Darkness), which Suyûtî notes was, in his day (as at the present time), also called "Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ (the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets). It is that now, further, called Bâb ad Dawîdâriyyah.‡ It opens from the northern side of the Haram Area." (S., 267; M. a. D., 382.)

Mukaddasi's Bâb al Walid (8) (mentioned, but in different order, by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih) is possibly the present Bâb al Ghawânimah (the northernmost in the west wall), of which Suyûtî speaks in the following terms. That, as he states, it was anciently called the Gate of Abraham does not, however, correspond with what follows in Mukaddasi, where the next gate (lying to the south, presumably, of the Bâb al Walid) is called the Bâb Ibrahim. Possibly, however, the names had become interchanged, as we have already seen was the case in other instances. Suyûtî's description is as follows: "Bâb al Ghawânimah (the Gate of the

* See p. 99.

† The present Bâb as Silsilah.

‡ The Dawîdâriyyah is the house of the Dawîdâr—more correctly the Dawât-dâr—or Secretary, a Persian word signifying "he who carried the ink-stand." It is also spelt Duwaidariyyah.

Men of the Family of Ghânim*) is that adjoining the Lieutenant's Palace (the Dâr an Niyâbah). It is the first (or northernmost) on the western side of the Haram Area. Anciently, it is said, this gate was called Bâb al Khalîl (the Gate of Abraham 'the Friend').” (S., 267 ; M. a. D., 383.)

Mukaddasi's Bâb Ibrahim (9), if the foregoing identification be accepted, would then correspond with the Bâb as Sakar (Gate of Hell), which Nâsir (ii.) states is the only one opening, in his day, in the west wall to the north of the Bâb Dâûd. (See p. 176.) This is apparently the modern Bâb an Nâdhîr (the Gate of the Inspector), of which Suyûti writes to the following effect : “ *Bâb an Nâdhîr* (the Gate of the Inspector) is a gate that is said never to have been restored. Anciently, it was called Bâb Mikâîl (the Gate of Michael) ; and, according to report, it is the gate to which Gabriel tied the steed Al Burâk on the occasion of the Night Journey.” (S., 267 ; M. a. D., 383.)

South of this gate, in the present western wall of the Haram Area, is one built, presumably, since Saladin's days, since no notice occurs of it in the more ancient writers. Suyûti speaks of it by the name it bears at the present day. He writes :

“ Bâb al Hadîd (the Iron Gate) is one that has been rebuilt (or recently built). Anciently, it was called after Arghûn al Kâmîl,† who founded the Madrasah (or college) of the Arghûniyyah, which lies on the left hand as you go out through it.” (S., 268 ; M. a. D., 383.)

Mukaddasi's “ Gate of the Mother of Khâlîd ” (10) (called Dâr Umm Khâlîd, of the *House* of Khâlîd's Mother, by Ibn al Fakîh) is probably the modern Bâb al Kattânîn (the Gate of the Cotton Merchants' Bazaar) ; or it might possibly be the gate to the north of this, called the Bâb al Hadîd, just described ; but this latter identification is the less likely of the two. Suyûti writes of the first-mentioned gate : “ Bâb al Kattânîn (the Gate of the Cotton Merchants) is one of those that has been restored. Al Malik an Nâsir ibn Kalâ'ûn was the prince

* Descendants of Shaikh Ghânim ibn 'Alî, who was born near Nâbulus in 562 (1167), and died in 632 at Damascus. Saladin made him chief of the Khânkah Salâhiyyah, the Derwish house founded by him at Jerusalem.

† Lieutenant of Syria. He died in 758 (1357).

who first built it; but it afterwards fell into complete ruin and disuse. When the late Nâib (Lieutenant) of Syria, Tankîz an Nâsiri,* built the colonnade which runs all along the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary, and the Sûk al Kattânin (the Cotton Market), he rebuilt, at the same time, this gate with the high portal, seen here at the present day." (S., 268; M. a. D., 238.)

Immediately to the south of the above comes the Gate known at the present day as Bâb al Mutawaddâ (the Gate of the Ablutions), or Al Matârah (Gate of Rain). This is a gateway opened since Crusading time, and which Suyûtî speaks of under the name of the Gate of the Reservoir. He writes: "*Bâb as Sikkâyah* (the Gate of the Reservoir) is said to be an ancient Gate. It had fallen to ruin of recent years, but when the late 'Alâ ad Dîn Al Busîr† constructed the tank for the ablution, which he gave the people, he rebuilt, too, this Gate. May it not be allowed to fall again into decay!" (S., 268; M. a. D., 383.)

Lastly comes Mukaddasi's Bâb Dâûd (11), the Great Gate of David, by which Nâsir (i.) begins his enumeration on entering the Haram Area. It is now known as the Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain). The adjoining Bâb as Salâm (Gate of Peace) is that alluded to by Mukaddasi (see p. 174) in his preface as the Bâb as Sakinah, and described under the same name (i.a) by Nâsir (see p. 180) as having a hall and place of prayer with many Mihrâbs. Of these last, no traces remain at the present day. These two Gates Suyûtî speaks of in the following words: "Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain), and the Bâb as Sakinah, stand side by side. The Bâb as Silsilah was anciently called the Bâb Dâûd (David's Gate). Bâb as Sakinah (the Gate of the Shechinah or Divine Presence) opens near the Gate of the Madrasah (or College), called Al Baladiyyah; and close by it also is the Southern Minaret. The Royal College, called Al Madrasah al Ashrafiyyah, lies to the north of the same." (S., 268; M. a. D., 383.)

The following table shows in a concise manner the proposed identifications of the various Gates of the Haram Area:

* Tankîz al Hisâmî or An Nâsiri was Lieutenant of Syria under Sultan An Nâsir Muhammad ibn Kalâ'ûn. Tankîz died 741 (1340).

† He died in 1291 A.D. See M. a. D., p. 606.

| MUKADDASI, 985 A.D. | NÂSIR-I-KHUSRAU, 1047 A.D.
(<i>Letters referring to Plan facing p. 150</i>) | MUJÏR AD DÏN, 1496 A.D. | MODERN, 1890 A.D.
(<i>Letters referring to Plan facing p. 172.</i>) |
|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| (1) Bâb Hittah. | (ix.) Bâb al Hittah, M. | Bâb an Nabî. | Bâb an Nabî, below Bâb al Maghâribah, P. |
| (2) Bawâb an Nabî. | (viii.) Bâb an Nabî, K. | Gate of the Old Aksâ. | Gate of the Old Aksâ, the Ancient Double Gate, O. |
| (3) Gates of the Mihrâb Maryam. | (vii.) Bâb al 'Ain, I or J. | | The Ancient Single Gate, M, or the Triple Gate, N. |
| (4) Gates Ar Rahmah. | (vi.) Bâb ar Rahmah, G, and Bâb at Taubah, F. | Bâb ar Rahmah, and Bâb at Taubah. | Bâb ar Rahmah, K, and Bâb at Taubah, J, The Golden Gate. |
| (5) Gate of the Birkat Bani Israil. | (v.) Bâb al Abwâb, E. | Bâb al Asbât. | Bâb al Asbât, I. |
| (6) Bâb al Asbât. | (iv.) Bâb al Asbât, D. | Bâb al Hittah. | Bâb al Hittah, II. |
| (7) Hâshimîe Gates. | (iii.) Gate to the Sufi's Cloisters, C. | Bâb ad Dawâdariyyah. | Bâb al 'Atm, G. |
| (8) Gate of Al Walid. | (ii.) Bâb as Sakar, B. | Bâb al Ghawânimah. | Bâb al Ghawânimah, F. |
| (9) Gate of Ibrahim. | | Bâb an Nâdhîr. | Bâb an Nâdhîr, E. |
| (10) Gate of Umm Khâlid. | | Bâb al Hadîd, or Bâb al Kattânîn. | Bâb al Hadîd, D, or Bâb al Kattânîn, C, or Bâb al Mutawaddâ, B. |
| (11) Bâb Dâûd. | (i.) Bâb Dâûd, and Bâb as Sakî-nah, A. | Bâb as Silsilah and Bâb as Sakinah. | Bâb as Silsilah, and Bâb as Salâm, A. |

THE COLONNADES.

The colonnades running along the inner side of the boundary walls of the Haram Area would appear to have stood, in the early Muslim days, very much in the same positions which they now occupy. Our earliest notice of them is in Mukaddasi, who says (see p. 99) that "on the right hand" (that is, along the West Wall) ran colonnades, as also "at the back" (that is, along the North Wall) of the Haram Area were colonnades, the ceilings of which are described as studded with mosaics.

The East Wall of the Haram Area, overhanging the Wâdî Jahanum, and in which stands the Golden Gate, is stated to have no colonnades along it. Neither was there any colonnade along the portion of the South Wall extending from the south-east angle (above the Cradle of Jesus) to the Eastern Wall of the Aksâ. From these particulars it is evident that in Mukaddasi's days the Haram Area, as far as the lateral colonnades are concerned, showed exactly the appearance to be seen at the present day. Mukaddasi also states the reasons (p. 99) why the Aksâ was not placed symmetrically in the centre of the South Wall of the Haram Area.

The Persian traveller, Nâsir-i-Khusrau (1047), gives us more exact details of these colonnades, which agree very exactly with what Mukaddasi (985) has described. Along the West Wall Nâsir states that to the right (south) of the Gate of David ran two great colonnades, each with twenty-nine marble pillars (see p. 176). The *two* colonnades I understand to refer, the first, to that running from the Gate of David to the Gate Bâb al Hittah (the present Bâb al Maghâribah); the second, from this last Gate down to the south-west angle, where it joined the colonnade of forty-two arches on the South Wall. (See Plan facing p. 150, *b*, *a* and *g*.) To the left of the Gate of David, northwards up to the north-west angle, was a long colonnade of sixty-four arches. The Gate of David (the present Gate of the Chain) had beside it another Gate called the Bâb as Sakinah (the Gate of the Shechinah, or Divine Presence), which led to a hall with a small mosque adjacent, in which were many oratories. (See p. 180.) Of this, apparently no traces remain at the present day; and Mukad-

dasi, sixty years before Nâsir, makes no mention of it as having existed in his time. The North Wall of the Haram Area, which in Mukaddasi's days had colonnades roofed in mosaic work, had two sets of colonnades when seen by Nâsir. From the Gate at the north-east angle (the present Bâb al Asbât), which Nâsir names the Bâb al Abwâb, westwards, to the next Gate, called by him the Bâb al Asbât (at present the Bâb Hittah), was "a colonnade, with arches that rested on solid pillars." (Plan facing p. 150, at *f*.) And westward of this Gate again, presumably extending as far as the north-west angle, and therefore joining the colonnade along the West Wall, were two colonnades (see p. 177, and Plan. at *e* and *d*), one beyond the other, in or near the westernmost of which was the "large and beautiful Dome" of Zachariah (Plan, W), of which, however, no traces remain at the present day.

The West Wall of the Haram Area, overhanging the Wâdi Jahannum, had no colonnade; and from the south-east angle, along the South Wall, "for a space of 200 ells (or 400 feet)," to the east wall of the Aksâ, was (Nâsir states), as at present, a bare wall. The only colonnade mentioned by Nâsir, of which no mention is found in Mukaddasi, is that of "forty-two arches" running along the South Wall, west of the Aksâ, from the western wall of the Mosque to the south-west angle of the Haram Area, where it joined the colonnade of the West Wall. (Plan, *g*.) This colonnade occupied the ground afterwards covered by the Armoury of the Templars. (See p. 107.)

After Nâsir's visit came the century of the Crusades, and then Saladin's restorations. Our next authority is Mujîr ad Dîn in 1496. He describes the colonnades he saw, and gives the dates of their building or restoration, as will be found in the following paragraphs: "The colonnades that go along the West Wall inside were all built during the reign of Al Malik an Nâsir Muhammad ibn Kalâ'ûn (A.D. 1310-1341). The colonnade going from the Maghâribah Gate to the Gate of the Chain was built in 713 (1314); that running from the Minaret at the Gate of the Chain to the Gate of the Inspector in 737 (1336); that from the Gate of the Inspector to the Bâb al Ghawânimah in 707 (1307). The colonnades along the north wall were erected at the time of

the foundations of the respective buildings they flank." (M. a. D., 376.) Since Mujir ad Din's days the colonnades must have been frequently repaired ; but, as seen at the present day, they are, to all intents, identical with those here described in 1496. (See Plan facing p. 172.)

DIMENSIONS OF THE HARAM AREA.

The dimensions of the Haram Area are given by many of the early authorities, some of whom apparently measured the great court for themselves, while some merely copied the inscription on a certain stone in the North Wall—by whom set up is not known—on which the dimensions are recorded. This stone was re-discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1874. The surface is, unfortunately, much corroded by the weather—this was apparently the case even as early as the year 1351—and the inscription can, at the present day, be only partially deciphered. According to M. Ganneau's account, what may be clearly read is, in translation, the following :

*"In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful, the length of (the Haram Area of) the Masjid is seven hundred and four-and-***ty ells, and its breadth four hundred and five-and-fifty ells, the ell being the ell of ****."*

In M. Ganneau's opinion, the space for the word representing the tens, in the enumeration of the length, will only allow of its having been either *eighty* or *thirty* ; thus, in full, 784, or 734. Further, the specification of the *Dhirâ'*, or ell, in M. Ganneau's opinion, cannot have been "al Malik," or *the royal ell* ; because the space available on the stone will not allow of the five letters of this word (in the Arabic) having been inscribed here ; also, he adds that such traces of letters as still remain do not correspond with the strokes of the Arabic letters in the word "al Malik."

The earliest mention of the exact dimensions of the Haram Area is found in the account (see p. 162) written by the Spanish Arab, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, about the year 913. He gives no reference to the inscribed stone slab in the North Wall, but states the length of the Haram to be 784 ells, and the breadth 455 ells, the ell being "the *Imâm ell*." Good MSS. of Ibn 'Abd

Rabbih's work are, however, wanting, and for the word "Imâm" we have only the authority of the Cairo-printed edition to rely on, and this is far from unimpeachable.

Ibn al Fakih and Mukaddasi, who are of the same century as the Spanish Arab, only give the dimensions of the Haram Area in round numbers, namely 1,000 ells by 700; and, according to Mukaddasi, the ell was the royal Hâshimite ell, which measured about 18 inches in length. At this valuation we get 1,500 feet by 1,050 feet for the length and breadth, the present measurements being, roughly—length 1,500 feet, by 900 feet for the average breadth.

The Persian traveller Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who visited Jerusalem in 1047, is the first in so many words to mention the tablet M. Ganneau has rediscovered in the North Wall. Nâsir's account is most circumstantial; and, if the numbers in the Persian MS. of his Diary could be depended upon (and all the known MSS. agree in giving the same numbers), his testimony would settle the point of what was the length originally inscribed on the tablet; for, in Nâsir's days, the surface of the stone would appear to have been still undamaged. Nâsir's account is as follows:

"The greater length of the Haram Area extends from north to south; but if the space occupied by the Maksûrah (or Aksâ Mosque) be deducted, the shape of the court is (roughly) square, with the Kiblah point lying towards the south. Now, it was my desire to obtain the measurements of the Haram Area, and I said to myself: First, I will come exactly to know the place in all its aspects, and see the whole thereof; and afterwards will I take the measurements. But after passing some time in the Noble Sanctuary, and examining it, I came on an inscription upon a stone of an arch in the north wall (of the Haram Area), not far from the Dome of Jacob (Kubbat Ya'kûb) (Plan facing p. 150, X)—on whom be peace! In this inscription the length of the Haram Area was set down at 704 cubits (*Arsh*), and the breadth at 455 cubits of the royal measure. The royal ell (*gez-i-malik*) is the same as that which is known in Khurasân as the *Gez-i-Shâigân* (the king's ell), and is equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ (common) cubits (*arsh*), or a fraction the less."* (N. Kh., 28, 29, 31.)

* In this passage *gez* (ell) and *arsh* (cubit) are again used as synonymous terms. See p. 128.

The next authority, but one of no great weight in this matter, is Idrisî, who states that the Haram Area measures 200 Bâ' (or fathoms), by 180 Bâ', the Bâ' being "the space between the extremities of the two hands of a full-grown man when they are extended to the right and left." (See Lane's *Dictionary*, s. v.) Taking the Bâ' at 6 feet, this would only give us 1,200 feet for the length, and 1,080 feet for the breadth.

The testimony of 'Ali of Herat is of greater weight. He writes, describing the Haram Area in 1173: "I read on a stone the following inscription: '*The length (of the Haram Area round) the Mosque is 700 Royal ells, and its breadth is 455.*' This stone is to be seen built into the north wall of (the Haram Area that surrounds) the Aksâ Mosque." (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 37, verso.)

From the close of the twelfth century (a few years before Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem), when 'Ali of Herat wrote, no other account has reached us of the dimensions of the Haram Area until the middle of the fourteenth century, when (in 1355) the traveller Ibn Batûtah describes Jerusalem. His Diary was written out, many years after his return home, from notes, and hence it is not surprising to find that he puts the length (north to south) for the breadth (east to west) of the Haram Area, and *vice versa*. Whether he copied the figures from the tablet in the North Wall is not stated. After a general description of the Mosque at Jerusalem, Ibn Batûtah continues: "They say there is no mosque anywhere larger than this. The length of the Haram Area from east to west is 752 ells of the Dhirâ' al Malikiyyah. Its breadth from the Kiblah (south) to the north is 435 ells." (I. B., i. 121.)

The author of the *Muthîr al Ghirâm* is the first writer to mention that the tablet in the north wall, which he read, was, in his day, rendered somewhat illegible by the weathering of the stone. This was in 1351, a few years prior to Ibn Batûtah's visit. As will be noted, the words recording both the *length* and the *breadth* were, in 1351, clearly legible, and it was only the specification of the ell that he could not decipher. The following passage from the author of the *Muthîr* has been quoted or copied

by many subsequent writers, notably by Suyûti in 1470, and by Mujîr ad Dîn in 1496. The Arabic text (collated from several MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris) is printed in the J. R. A. S., vol. xix., new series, at p. 305. The following is a translation :

“ It is stated by Ibn 'Asâkir (died 1176) that the length of the Haram Area is 755 ells, and its breadth 465 ells, the ell being the royal ell (*Dhirâ' al Malîk*). And so also writes Abu'l Ma'âli al Musharraf in his book. Now, I myself, in old times, have seen in the northern wall of the Haram Area, above the gateway which adjoins the Duwaidâriyyah, and on the inner side of the wall, a slab on which was inscribed the length and the breadth of the Haram Area, and it differed from what these two authorities have stated. And what was inscribed on this slab was : *Length 784 ells, breadth 455 ells*. The inscription, further, gives the indication of the ell used ; but I am not sure whether this is the ell mentioned above (which is the royal ell) or some other, for the inscription has become indistinct. The Haram Area was measured in our days with a rope, and along the eastern wall it measured 683 ells, and along the western wall it measured 650 ells, while in the breadth (that is, along the northern and the southern walls) it measured 438 ells. These measurements being exclusive of the width of the outer walls.”

It is to be noted that the author of the Muthîr fails to state what particular ell was the one used in the measurements made in his days.

Mujîr ad Dîn, who quotes the above (M. a. D., 251), states in a subsequent page (Cairo Text, p. 377) that he, himself, in the year 1496, measured the Haram Area twice over to get the figures exact. The ell was the workman's ell, that commonly in use in his day, the length of which is equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet. Mujîr ad Dîn's measurements are the following :

“ Length : From the South Wall at the Mihrâb Dâûd, to the back of the colonnade on the North Wall near the Gate of the Tribes, is 660 ells. This is not counting the width of the outer walls. Width : From the Eastern Wall, where this overhangs the tombs that are outside the Gate of Mercy, to the back of the

Western Colonnade below the Chambers of the Madrasah Tan-kiziyyah, is 406 ells."

At the valuation given above, 660 workman's ells would equal 1,485 feet, and 406 ells, 913½ feet.

The following list gives in chronological order a summary of the above measurements. When it is remembered that since Muslim days the South Wall of the Aksâ Mosque (and therefore also of the Haram Area) has always occupied the position it does at the present day; that the same may be said of the "Cradle of Jesus" in the south-east corner; that Mukaddasi as early as 985 mentions the Birkat Bani Isrâîl, and therefore that the north-east angle cannot have changed its position since the ninth century; and finally, that the Gates in the West Wall, many of them date from the first centuries of the Hijrah—it must be concluded that the boundaries of the Haram Area cannot have been much changed since the days of the Khalif 'Abd al Malik at the close of the seventh century of our era. The variation in the figures is doubtless in part due to the error of the copyists: in part also to the variety of ell used, which ranged between the early Hâshimite royal ell of 1½ feet, the later royal ell of about 2 feet, and the workman's ell of the fifteenth century, which measured about 2¼ feet.

A.D. 903. Ibn al Fakîh, in ells, 1,000 by 700.

913. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, "in Imâm ells," 784 by 455.

985. Mukaddasi, "in royal Hashimite ells," 1,000 by 700, equivalent to 1,500 feet by 1,050 feet.

1047. Nâsir-i-Khusrau. Inscription on North Wall, "in royal ells," read 704 by 455.

1154. Idrîsî, measurement in Bâ' (fathom), 200 by 180, equivalent to 1,200 feet by 1,080 feet.

1178. 'Ali of Herat. Inscription on North Wall, "in royal ells," 700 by 455.

1176. Ibn 'Asâkir, as quoted by the author of the *Muthîr*, "in royal ells," 755 by 465.

1351. The author of the *Muthîr al Ghirâm*. Inscription (query what ells), 784 by 455.

Idem, by his own measurement: Eastern Wall, 683 ells;

Western Wall, 650 ells; breadth, 438 ells. (Specification of ell not given.)

1355. Ibn Batûtah, "in royal ells," 752 by 435. (Length and breadth interchanged in error.)

1496. Mujir ad Dîn, from his own measurements, in workman's ells (of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet), 660 by 406 (equivalent to 1,485 feet and $913\frac{1}{2}$ feet).

1874. M. Clermont Ganneau's reading of the inscription in the North Wall, length, 784 or 734; breadth, 455. This in ells that, according to his reading, cannot have been *royal* ells.

THE TANKS AND POOLS.

The rock under the greater part of the Haram Area is, in various places, honeycombed with tanks used for storing water. They are mentioned by many of the earlier writers. These reservoirs during the Middle Ages were fed by an aqueduct, bringing water from "Solomon's Pools" in the Wâdî Urtâs, near Hebron, which aqueduct was originally constructed by Pontius Pilate (Josephus, Ant., xviii. 3, § 2). Of the water-cisterns of the Noble Sanctuary, Nâsir gives the following account:

"The roofs of all the buildings in the Haram Area are covered with lead. Below the ground-level are numerous tanks and water-cisterns hewn out of the rock, for the Noble Sanctuary rests everywhere on a foundation of live rock. There are so many of these cisterns that however much rain falls, no water flows away to waste, but all is caught in the tanks, whence the people come to draw it. They have constructed leaden conduits for carrying down the water, and the rock cisterns lie below these, with covered passages leading down thereto, through which the conduits pass to the tanks, whereby any loss of water is saved, and impurities are kept therefrom.

"At a distance of three leagues from the Holy City, I saw a great water-tank (at Solomon's Pools), whereinto pour all the streams that flow down from the hills. From thence they have brought an aqueduct that comes out into the Noble Sanctuary. Of all parts of the Holy City this is where water is most plentiful. But in every house also, there is a cistern for collecting the rain-water

—for other than this water there is none—and each must store the rain which falls upon his roof. The water used in the hot baths and other places is solely from the storage of the rains. The tanks that are below the Haram Area never need to be repaired, for they are cut in the live rock. Any place where there may have been originally a fissure or a leakage, has been so solidly built up that the tanks never fall out of order. It is said that these cisterns were constructed by Solomon—peace be upon him! The roofing of them is like that of a baker's oven (*tannûr*). Each opening is covered with a stone, as at a well-mouth, in order that nothing may fall therein. The water of the Holy City is sweeter than the water of any other place, and purer; and even when no rain falls for two or three days the conduits still run with water, for though the sky be clear, and there be no trace of clouds, the dew causes drops to fall.* (N. Kh., 39.)

The great cistern, which is in part excavated under the Aksâ Mosque, goes by the name of Bir al Warakah, the Well of the Leaf. To account for the name, a strange tradition is recounted (1470) by Suyûtî, and copied by Mujîr ad Dîn, and many later writers, which in substance reproduces the account given by Yâkût (1225) in his *Geographical Dictionary* under the heading of *Al Kalt*. Yâkût's version will be found translated in chapter vii.,† and may be compared with what is given here from Suyûtî.

“Now as to the tradition about the leaves (of Paradise), there are many and various accounts thereof. In the first place, from Abu Bakr ibn Abi Maryam, through 'Utayyah ibn Kais, comes the tradition that the Prophet said: ‘Verily a man from among my people shall enter Paradise, walking upon his two feet (and come back again), and yet shall live.’ Now during the Khalifate of 'Omar, a caravan of men arrived at the Holy City to make their prayers there. And one of them, a man of the Bani Tamîm, named Shuraik ibn Habâshah, went off to get water (from the well). And his bucket falling down into the well, he descended and found a door there opening into gardens, and passing through the door into the gardens, he walked therein. Then he plucked a leaf from one of the trees, and placing it behind his ear, he returned to the

* See p. 87, note.

† See p. 292.

well and mounted up again. And the man went to the Governor of the Holy City, and related to him of what he had seen in those gardens, and how he had come to enter therein. Then the Governor sent men with him to the well, and they descended, many people accompanying them, but they found not the door, neither did they attain to the gardens. And the Governor wrote to the Khalif 'Omar concerning it all, recalling how it was reported on tradition that one of the people of Islam should enter the Garden of Paradise, and walk therein, on his two feet, and yet live. 'Omar wrote in answer: 'Look ye to the leaf, whether it be green and do not wither. If this be so, verily it is a leaf of Paradise, for naught of Paradise can wither or change; and it is recorded in the aforesaid tradition of the Prophet that the leaf shall not suffer change.'

"Another version of the tradition runs as follows: Shuraik ibn Habâshah at Tamîmî came into the Holy City to get water for his companions, and his bucket slipped from his hand, so he descended (into the well) to fetch it up. And a person called to him in the well, saying, 'Come thou with me,' and, taking him by the hand, he brought him into the Garden of Paradise. Shuraik plucked two leaves, and the person then brought him back to where he had first found him. Then Shuraik mounted up out of the well, and when he rejoined his companions, he told them of all that had happened. The affair reached the ears of the Khalif 'Omar, and it was Ka'ab who remarked how it had been said (by the Prophet) *a man of this people of Islam shall enter the Garden of Paradise, and yet live*, adding: 'Look ye to the leaves; if they suffer change, then are they not the leaves of Paradise, and if they change not, then must they verily be of the leaves of Paradise.' And 'Utayyah asserts that the said leaves never after did suffer change. According to another tradition (coming from Al Walîd), a certain Abu-n-Najm was Imâm (leader of prayer) to the people of Salamiyyah, many of whom were of the desert tribes. And some of these people told him how they had themselves been well acquainted with Shuraik ibn Habâshah when he was living at Salamiyyah. And they were wont to inquire of him concerning his entrance into the Garden of Paradise, and what he saw therein, and of how he had brought leaves there-

from. And these people continued: 'We inquired further whether there yet remained by him any one of the leaves which he had plucked there; and when he answered us affirmatively, we asked to see the leaf, and the man called for his Kurân, and took from between its pages a leaf that was entirely green, and gave it into our hands. When we had returned it to him, after laying it over his eyes, he placed it back again between the pages of his Kurân. And when he was at the point of death, he enjoined that we should put this leaf on his breast under the shroud, and his last words were to conjure us that this should exactly be done.' Al Walid continues: I inquired of Abu-n-Najm whether he had heard a description given of the leaf? He replied: 'Yes; and it was like the leaf of a peach tree (*Durâkin*), of the size of the palm of a hand, and pointed at the tip.' Suyûtî adds: Now the mouth of the Well of the Leaf is in the Aksâ Mosque, on the left hand as you enter by the door facing the Mihrab." (S., 270. The first tradition is copied by M. a. D., 368.)

Besides the underground water-tanks of the Haram, there were three celebrated pools of water in the Holy City. Mukaddasi, in 985, writes: "There is water in Jerusalem in plenty. Thus it is a common saying, that *there is no place in Jerusalem but where you may get water and hear the Call to Prayer*; and few are the houses that have not cisterns—one or more. Within the city are three great tanks, namely, the Birkat Bani Isrâîl, the Birkat Sulaimân, and the Birkat 'Iyâd. In the vicinity of each of these are baths, and to them lead the water-channels from the streets. In the Mosque Area there are twenty underground cisterns of vast size, and there are few quarters of the city that have not public cisterns, though the contents of these last is only the rain-water that drains into them from the streets. At a certain valley, about a stage from the Holy City, they have gathered together the waters, and made there two pools, into which the torrents of the winter rains flow. From these two reservoirs there are channels, bringing the water to the City, which are opened during the spring in order to fill the tanks under the Haram Area, and also those in other places." (Muk., 167.)

The notice of these three pools, mentioned by Mukaddasi

as within the city precincts, is copied by succeeding writers, who make no attempt at any identification of the two last mentioned. The first, the Pool of the Children of Israel, is the well-known tank called by the same name at the present day, which lies outside the north-east corner of the Haram Area. (See plans facing pp. 150, 172.) The traditional origin of its name is thus recorded by 'Ali of Herat :

"The Birkat Bani Isrâil is to the north of the Haram Area. They say that Bukht Nasar (Nebuchadnezzar) filled it with the heads of the Children of Israel that he slew." (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 39 v.)

The Birkat Sulaimân and the Birkat 'Iyâd do not exist under these names at the present day. The Birkat Sulaimân is, doubtless, the mediæval Pool of Bethesda, the site of which has recently been discovered (see P. E. F. "Quarterly Statement," 1888, p. 115) near the Church of St. Anne.* Tradition ascribed the digging of both this pool and the Birkat Bani Isrâil to King Solomon. (See P. P. T. *Bordeaux Pilgrim*, p. 20, and *Citez de Jérusalem*, p. 25.)

The Birkat 'Iyâd was called after 'Iyâd ibn Ghanm, a celebrated Companion of the Prophet, who was with the Khalif 'Omar at the capitulation of Jerusalem, and, according to Mujir ad Dîn (M. a. D., 231), built a bath in the Holy City. He died A.H. 20 (641). The pool anciently called by his name is probably the present Birkat Hammâm al Butrak, the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath, not far from the Jaffa Gate, very generally identified with the Pool Amygdalon of Josephus and with the Biblical Pool of Hezekiah.

Suyûtî, in 1470, whose account is copied by Mujir ad Dîn (M. a. D., 409) writes as follows : "In regard to the pools that are in the Holy City, on the report of Damrah from Ibn Abi Sûdah, it is related that a certain King of the Kings of the Children of Israel, named Hazkil (Hezekiah), constructed six pools for the Holy City, namely, three within the city, which are the Birkat Bani Isrâil, the Birkat Sulaimân, and the Birkat 'Iyâd, and three without the city, which are the Birkat Mâmîlâ and the two Birkats of Al Marjî'. And these he made to store the water for the use of the people of the Holy City." (S., 274.)

* See the Plan of Jerusalem facing p. 83.

With regard to the pools outside the city here alluded to, the Pool of Mamilla lies a short distance west of the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem, while the Pools of Al Marji' are those known as Solomon's Pools, some miles from Hebron, referred to above in the descriptions of Mukaddasi and others. (See p. 197.) Mujir ad Dîn, writing in 1496, adds that in his days the two Birkats of 'Iyâd and Sulaimân could no longer be identified, the names being unknown to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. (M. a. D., 409.)

THE CHURCH OF RESURRECTION AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SHRINES.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—In their descriptions of Jerusalem, Muslim writers very naturally give but scant space to the mention of Christian edifices. The great Church of the Resurrection, however, founded by Constantine about the year 335, ruined by the Persian Chosroes in 614, and restored by Modestus in 629, had been left untouched when, in 637, 'Omar took possession of Jerusalem; and, as has been noted on a previous page, was, in Mukaddasi's days, "so enchantingly fair, and so renowned for its splendour," as almost to rival in beauty the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque at Damascus. (See p. 117.)

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is mentioned as early as the year 943 A.D. by the historian Mas'ûdi. The Muslims, from the earliest times, have called this church *Kanîsah al Kumâmah*—"the Church of the Sweepings," or "of the Dunghill"—*Kumâmah* being a designed corruption of *Kavâmah*, the name given to the church by the Eastern Christians, this being the Arabic equivalent of Anastasis—"the Resurrection." The imposture, which is still called the Miracle of the Holy Fire, is first noticed by the Christian pilgrim, Bernard the Wise, in 867. Mas'ûdi's testimony, therefore, some eighty years later, that the miracle took place in the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre* of the Christians, a well-known building, perfectly distinct from the Dome of the Rock (which last Mr. Fergusson would have us believe was, at that period, known as the *Holy Sepulchre*), serves

to overturn from its foundations the theory that Constantine's basilica is the Muslim Dome of the Rock. Mas'ûdi was sceptical as to the miraculous origin of the fire. His account is as follows :

"On the fifth day of the (Syrian) month Tishrîn 1 (October), is the festival of the Kanîsah al Kumâmah (the Church of the Sepulchre) at Jerusalem. The Christians assemble for this festival from out all lands. For on it the fire from heaven doth descend among them, and they kindle therefrom the candles. The Muslims also are wont to assemble in great crowds to see the sight of the festival. It is the custom at this time to pluck olive-leaves. The Christians hold many legends there anent ; but the fire is produced by a clever artifice, which is kept a great secret." (Mas., iii. 405.)

Another passage from the same author is curious as showing what were the churches in the hands of the Christians in Jerusalem in A.D. 943. After relating the history of the reign of Solomon, Mas'ûdi concludes his chapter with the following paragraph :

"It was Solomon who first built the Holy House, which same is now the Aksâ Mosque—may Allah bless its precincts ! When he had completed the building thereof, he set about building a house for his own use. This last is the place that, in our own day, is called the Kanîsah al Kumâmah (the Church of the Resurrection). It is the largest church in Jerusalem belonging to the Christians. They have also in the Holy City other greatly honoured churches besides this one—as, for example, the Kanîsah Sihyûn (the Church of Sion), of which David has made mention (in the Psalms) ; and the church known as Al Jismâniyyah. This last, they say, encloses the tomb of David." (Mas., i. 111.)

Al Jismâniyyah is the Arabic corruption of the name Gethsemane. The original Hebrew name has the meaning of *Garden of the Olive-press* ; while *Jismâniyyah*, in Arabic, signifies "The place of the *Incarnation*," and is in allusion, therefore, to a different circumstance in the Gospel history. Mukaddasi, writing in 985, gives no description of the Church of the Sepulchre, only alluding to it incidentally. (See pp. 98, 117.)

There is some doubt as to the exact year in which the mad Khalif of Egypt, Hâkim, ordered the celebrated destruction of the Church of the Sepulchre. Western authorities generally place this event in the year 1010 A.D. The chronicle of Ibn al Athîr notes it as an occurrence of the year of the Hijrah 398 (1008). He writes: "In this year Al Hâkim-bi-amr-illah, the Lord of Egypt, ordered the demolition of the Church of the Kumâmah, which is the church in the Holy City (of Jerusalem) called generally by the (Christians) Al Kayâmah (the Anastasis). In this church, according to the belief of the Christians, is the spot where the Messiah was buried; and on this account it is visited by them, coming in pilgrimage from all parts of the earth. Al Hâkim also commanded the other churches throughout his dominions to be likewise pulled down, and so it was done." (Ibn al Athîr, ix. 147.)

Makrizi, however, an authority of no less weight than the above, states that it was in the year 400 A.H. (1010) that Al Hâkim "wrote ordering the destruction of the Church of the Kumâmah," (the text is given in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. i., p. 60 of the Arabic), and this corresponds with the date generally given by Western writers. Mujîr ad Dîn, on the contrary, repeats Ibn al Athîr's date. He writes: "During the year 398 (1008), the Khalif Hâkim ordered the Kumâmah to be destroyed. The church, however, was allowed to be rebuilt during the reign of his son, Al Mustansir, by the King of Rûm." (M. a. D., 269.) The King of Rûm here mentioned is, according to one account, the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, who, about the year 1048, had the church rebuilt under the superintendence of the Patriarch Nicephorus. Other accounts state that the restoration took place under the Emperor Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, who obtained the privilege of Al Mustansir on the condition of setting free five thousand Muslim captives.

In the year 1047, Jerusalem was visited by the Persian pilgrim Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who has left the following description of the great church as it stood before the alterations effected by the Crusaders. Nâsir writes:

"In the Holy City (of Jerusalem), the Christians possess a

church which they call Bai'at-al-Kumâmah (which is the Church of the Resurrection), and they hold it in high veneration. Every year great multitudes of people from Rûm (the Greek Empire) come hither to perform their visitation ; and the Emperor of Byzantium himself even comes here, but privily, so that no one should recognise him. In the days when (the Fatimite Khalif) Al Hâkim-bi-amr-Illah was ruler of Egypt, the Greek Cæsar had come after this manner to Jerusalem. Al Hâkim, having news of it, sent for one of his cup-bearers, and said to him, 'There is a man of so and such a countenance and condition whom thou wilt find seated in the Mosque (Jâmi') of the Holy City ; go thou, therefore, and approach him, and say that Hâkim hath sent thee to him, lest he should think that I, Hâkim, knew not of his coming ; but let him be of good cheer, for I have no evil intention against him.' Hâkim at one time ordered the Church (of the Resurrection) to be given over to plunder, which was so done, and it was laid in ruins. Some time it remained thus ; but afterwards the Cæsar of Byzantium sent ambassadors with presents and promises of service, and concluded a treaty in which he stipulated for permission to defray the expenses of rebuilding the church, and this was ultimately accomplished.

"At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of containing eight thousand persons. The edifice is built, with the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside, the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him!—who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing others of the Prophets, as, for instance, Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all ! These pictures they have overlaid with a varnish of the oil of Sandaracha (*Sandarûs*, or red juniper) ; and for the face of each portrait they have made a plate of thin glass, which is set thereon, and is perfectly transparent. This dispenses with the need of a curtain, and prevents any dust or dirt from settling on the painting, for the glass is cleaned daily by the servants (of the church). Besides this (Church of the Resurrection)

there are many others (in Jerusalem), all very skilfully built ; but to describe them all would lead into too great length. In the Church (of the Resurrection) there is a picture divided into two parts, representing Heaven and Hell. One part shows the people of paradise in Paradise, while the other shows the people of hell in Hell, with all that therein is ; and assuredly there is nowhere else in the world a picture such as this. There are seated in this church great numbers of priests and monks, who read the Evangel and say prayers, for both by day and by night they are occupied after this manner." (N. Kh., 59-61.)

In 1099 the Crusaders gained possession of Jerusalem, and deeming the old Church of the Resurrection to be too insignificant a building for the great purpose of the Shrine of Christ's Tomb, they enlarged the edifice by adding a nave and aisles to the then existing rotunda. These additions were apparently completed in the first half of the twelfth century. In 1154 Idrîsî, quoting, doubtless, from the accounts brought home to Sicily by Christian pilgrims, wrote the following description of the church as it then existed :

"When you enter (Jerusalem) by the Jaffa Gate, called Bâb al Mihrâb, which, as aforesaid, is the western gate, you go eastwards through a street that leads to the great church known as the Kanîsah al Kayâmah (the Church of the Resurrection), which the Muslims call Kumâmah (the Dunghill). This is a church to which pilgrimage is made from all parts of the Greek Empire, both from the eastern lands and the western. You enter (the church) by a gate at the west end, and the interior thereof occupies the centre space under a dome, which covers the whole of the church. This is one of the wonders of the world. The church itself lies lower than this gate, and you cannot descend thereto from this side. Another gate opens on the north side, and through this you may descend to the lower part of the church by thirty steps. This gate is called Bâb Santa Maria.

"When you have descended into the interior of the church you come on the most venerated Holy Sepulchre. It has two gates, and above it is a vaulted dome of very solid construction, beautifully built, and splendidly ornamented. Of these two gates, one

is towards the north, facing the Gate Santa Maria, and the other is toward the south, facing which is the Bâb as Salûbiyyah (the Gate of the Crucifixion). Above this last gate is the bell-tower of the church. Over against this, on the east, is a great and venerable church, where the Franks of Rûm (which is the Greek Empire) have their worship and services. To the east (again) of this blessed church, but bearing somewhat to the south, is the prison in which the Lord Messiah was incarcerated: also the place of the Crucifixion. Now, as to the great dome (over the Church of the Resurrection), it is of a vast size, and open to the sky. Inside the dome, and all round it, are painted pictures of the Prophets, and of the Lord Messiah, and of the Lady Maryam, his Mother, and of John the Baptist. Over the Holy Sepulchre lamps are suspended, and above the Place (of the Grave) in particular are three lamps of gold." (Id., 6.)

The mention of the bell-tower, called in the Arabic *Kanbinâr* (Campanarium), would go to prove the tower of the Church of the Resurrection to be older than M. de Vogüé supposes, judging it on architectural grounds only, in his *Eglises de la Terre Sainte* (p. 207). The great south portal of the church, the only one at present in use, and immediately to the north of which stands the bell-tower, is the one doubtless here called the Gate of the Crucifixion. It is noteworthy that in Idrîsî's days the church had three entrances, the above-mentioned gate to the south; one opposite, opening north (the Gate of Santa Maria); and, lastly, the West Gate, from which you could *not* descend into the body of the edifice. The two latter gates no longer exist. The "Church of the Greeks" must be the present Catholicon, lying immediately east of the Rotunda of the Sepulchre, and to the present day belonging to the Greek community. It forms the western half of the Church of the Crusaders.

Some years later than Idrîsî, 'Ali of Herat, in 1173, wrote a description of the Holy Places of Palestine, from the purely Muslim point of view. Of the Church of the Resurrection he gives the following short notice, written a few years before Saladin's recovery of the Holy City:

"The Church of the Kumâmah is one of the most wonderful

buildings of the world. In it is the tomb which the Christians call Al Kayâmah (Anastasis), and this because they believe that the Resurrection of the Messiah took place here. But the truth is that the place is called Al Kumâmah (the Dunghill) because it was of old a dung-heap, and lay outside the city, being the place where they cut off the hands of malefactors and crucified thieves, as, too, is mentioned in the Evangel—but Allah alone knows the truth. The Christians have in this place the rock which they say was split, and from beneath which Adam rose up—because it stood under the place of the Crucifixion, as they relate.* They have also here the Garden of Joseph, surnamed As Siddik (the Truthful), which is much visited by pilgrims. In this church takes place the descent of the (Holy) Fire. Now, verily, I myself did sojourn at Jerusalem for some season during the days of the Franks, in order to understand their ways and the manner of the sciences.” (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 41, recto and verso.)

In 1187 Saladin expelled the Crusaders from the Holy City, and, according to some accounts, pillaged and did considerable damage to the Church of the Resurrection. In 1192 the knights of the Third Crusade were allowed by Saladin to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and the Bishop of Salisbury obtained permission for two Latin monks to remain there and conduct the services of the church. The account which Yâkût, writing in 1225, gives of the church proves that in his day the building had recovered from the reported pillage at the date of Saladin’s conquest. Yâkût, as will be seen, repeats the account given by ‘Ali of Herat; he, however, adds some remarks of his own, and gives a curious notice of the Miracle of the Holy Fire :

“The Kumâmah is the great church of the Christians at Jerusalem. It is beyond description for beauty, and for its great riches and wonderful architecture. It stands in the middle of the city, and a wall surrounds it. There is here the tomb which the Christians call Al Kayâmah (the Anastasis), because of their belief that the Resurrection of the Messiah took place here. In

* This is the well-known mediæval legend. See *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text*, *Abbot Daniel*, p. 14. The rent in the rock is still shown. According to tradition, Adam was buried below the rock on which the Crucifixion afterwards took place.

point of fact, however, the name is Kumâmah, not Kayâmah, for the place was the Dunghill of the inhabitants of the city, and stood anciently without the town, being the place where they cut off malefactors' hands, and where they crucified thieves. But after the Messiah had been crucified on this spot, it came to be venerated as you now see. This is all related in the Evangel. There is here a rock which they say was split and Adam rose from it, for the Crucifixion took place on the summit of the same. The Christians have also in this spot the Garden of Joseph, the Truthful—peace be upon him!—and visitation is made thereto. In one part (of the church) is a lamp, on which they say fire descends from heaven on a certain day and kindles the wick.

“Now, on this matter a certain person who was in the public service—and he was a man of the companions of the Sultan, to whom it was not possible for the Christians to refuse admittance, and he had stayed in the church to see how the affair was accomplished—related to me the following as of his experience: On one occasion, said he, the descent of the fire was delayed by the priest, in whose charge it was to see to it, and he turned to me and said: ‘Verily thy attending on us is a matter against the precept of our law.’ I inquired of him wherefore. Said he: ‘Because we appear before our companions as doing a thing that should be kept hid from one like thee. It were therefore to be desired that thou shouldst leave us and go out.’ Said I to him: ‘Of necessity will I now see what thou art about to do; for behold, I have found in a book of magic what is written therein, how ye bring a candle near, and then on a sudden hang it up in this place, which the people neither seeing nor knowing, it is considered by them a miraculous act, and one deserving of all belief.’ Here ends the account.” (Yak., iv. 173-174.)

OTHER CHRISTIAN SHRINES.

It will be convenient at this place to insert such short notices as are found in the early Muslim writers of the other Christian shrines which they describe in Jerusalem.

The Garden of Gethsemane, called *Al Jismâniyyah* in Arabic (see above, p. 203), is mentioned by *Mas'ûdi* as early as the year 943.

Writing in 1154, Idrîsî has the following account of the same spot: "Leaving the (Aksâ) Mosque (and crossing the Haram Area) you come, on the eastern side, to the Bâb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy, the Golden Gate), which is now closed, as we have said before; but near to this gate is another, which is open. It is called Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes), and through it there is much coming and going. When you have passed out by the Gate of the Tribes, you reach the limits of the archery-ground, and find there a large and very beautiful church, dedicated to the Lady Mary, and the place is known as Al Jismâniyyah. At this place also is her tomb, on the skirt of the Mount of Olives (Jabal az Zaitûn). Between it and the Gate of the Tribes is the space of about a mile." (Id., 8.)

The next mention that occurs of the Tomb of the Virgin is that given by 'Ali of Herat. His work was written in 1173, while the Crusaders still had possession of Jerusalem; but the paragraph on the Tomb of the Virgin would appear to have been altered at a subsequent date, for it describes the building as it was transformed after Saladin's reconquest of the Holy City in 1187. 'Ali of Herat writes: "The Tomb of Maryam is in the Wâdî Jahannum. You descend (to the tomb) by six-and-thirty steps. There are here columns of granite and marble. The dome is supported by sixteen columns, eight being red, and eight green. The building has four gates, and at each gate are six columns of marble or granite. It was originally a church, but is now a Mashhad, or oratory, dedicated to Abraham the Friend—peace be on him! There are here wonderful remains of columns and other architectural fragments." (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 40.)

Ibn Batûtah, who visited Jerusalem in 1355, speaks in the following terms of the Tomb of the Virgin, and of some other Christian shrines in Jerusalem: "At the bottom of the said Valley of Jahannum is a church which the Christians venerate, for here, they say, is the Tomb of Maryam—peace be on her! In Jerusalem also is another church (namely, that of the Resurrection), to which the Christians make pilgrimage, and about which they tell many lies, asserting that the Tomb of Jesus—peace be on Him!—is therein. Now, on every pilgrim who makes his visitation to this

church a certain tribute is levied for the benefit of the Muslims, and the Christians have to bear humiliations, which they undergo with much revolting of the heart. In Jerusalem also is the place of the Cradle of Jesus—peace be on Him!—where Christians come to seek a blessing.” (I. B., i. 124.)

The Church of Pater Noster and Bethany are spoken of by Idrîsî in 1154. He writes: “On the road ascending the Mount of Olives is a magnificent church, beautifully and solidly built, which is called the Church of Pater Noster; and on the summit of the mount is another church, beautiful and grand likewise, in which men and women incarcerate themselves, seeking thereby to obtain favour with Allah—be He exalted! In this aforementioned mount, on the eastern part, and bearing rather to the south, is the Tomb of Al ’Âzar (Lazarus), whom the Lord Messiah raised again to life. Two miles distant from the Mount of Olives stands the village from which they brought the she-ass, on which the Lord Messiah rode on His entry into Jerusalem, but the place is now in ruins, and no one lives there.” (Id., 8.)

The Church of the Ascension (on the Mount of Olives) is referred to by ’Ali of Herat in 1173 as “the Church of Salik, which is the one from which the Messiah is said to have ascended into heaven.” (A.H., Oxf. MS., f. 40.) Ibn Batûtah doubtless alludes to the same building in the Diary of his visit to Jerusalem in 1355, where he writes: “Beside the Wâdî, called Wâdî Jahannum, and to the east of the city on a hill that rises to a certain height (known as the Mount of Olives), there is a building whence they say Jesus—peace be on Him!—ascended into heaven.” (I. B., i. 124.)

’Ali of Herat, in 1173, mentions another church, which it is difficult at the present day to identify. He writes: “At Jerusalem is the Church of the Jacobites,* in which is the well where they say the Messiah washed, and where the Samaritan woman received belief at His hands. The place is much visited, and is held in great veneration. At Jerusalem also is the Tower (*Burj*) of David and his Mihrâb, as is mentioned in the Kurân (xxxviii. 20).”

* In the Oxford MS., folio 39, v., the name is written ‘*Kanîsah al Yughâkiyyah*,’ a mistake (by the alteration of the diacritical points) for *Al Yughâbiyyah*, which is the reading found in M. Shefer’s MS.

Of the Church of Sion and the adjacent shrines, Idrîsî reports as follows :

“Now, as to what lies adjacent to the Holy City on the southern quarter, when you go out by the Bâb Sihyûn (the Gate of Sion), you pass a distance of a stone’s throw, and come to the Church of Sion, which is a beautiful church, and fortified. In it is the guest-chamber wherein the Lord Messiah ate with the disciples, and the table is there remaining even unto the present day. The people assemble here (for the Festival of Maundy-) Thursday. And from the Gate of Sion you descend into a ravine called Wâdî Jahannum (the Valley of Gehenna). On the edge of this ravine is a church called after the name of Peter, and down in the ravine is the ‘Ain Sulwân (Spring of Siloam), which is the spring where the Lord Messiah cured the infirmity of the blind man, who before that had no eyes. Going south from this said spring is the field (*Hakl*, Aceldama ?) wherein strangers are buried, and it is a piece of ground which the Lord bought for this purpose ; and near by to it are many habitations cut out in the rock wherein men incarcerate themselves for the purposes of devotion.” (Id., 9.)

The table in the Church of Sion is mentioned also by ‘Ali of Herat in 1173, who notices the tradition that it came down from heaven to Christ and His disciples. (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 40.) Yâkût (1225) also alludes incidentally to the Church of Sion. (Yak., iii. 438.)

THE CITY GATES.

The gates in the walls of Jerusalem, though mentioned singly and incidentally by many geographers, are only fully enumerated by two Arab authors—namely, Mukaddasi in 985, and Mujîr ad Dîn in 1496. Between these two dates the Holy City was in turn besieged by the Crusaders and by Saladin, and the walls were several times dismantled and rebuilt. It is not, therefore, astonishing to find that Mukaddasi’s gates do not all bear the same names as those found in Mujîr ad Dîn, which last are those still open and used at the present day. Mukaddasi writes as follows :

“Jerusalem is smaller than Makkah, and larger than Al Madīnah. Over the city is a castle, one side of which is against the hillside, while the other is defended by a ditch. Jerusalem has eight iron gates :

“(1) Bâb Sihyûn (Gate of Sion).

“(2) Bâb at Tih (Gate of the Desert of the Wanderings).

“(3) Bâb al Balât (Gate of the Palace, or Court).

“(4) Bâb Jubb Armiyâ (Gate of Jeremiah’s Pit).

“(5) Bâb Silwân (Gate of Siloam).

“(6) Bâb Arihâ (Gate of Jericho).

“(7) Bâb al ’Amûd (Gate of the Columns).

“(8) Bâb Mihrâb Dâûd (Gate of David’s Oratory).” (Muk., 167.)

It is evident, from such of the gates as still bear the same names as they did in 985, that Mukaddasi follows no order, but that the names as they at present stand in the MSS. are set down almost entirely at haphazard. To begin, however, with those about which there can be little dispute.*

The Gate of David’s Mihrâb (8) is that generally known as the Jaffa or Hebron Gate, called at the present day Bâb al Khalil. Immediately above it is the castle mentioned by Mukaddasi, which still exists, and in which is the Mihrâb which gave this gate its name. David’s Mihrâb is also shown in the Haram Area. (See p. 168.) The oratory in the castle, however, is the one referred to by Istakhri and Ibn Haukal in the following description :

“In the city is the Mihrâb of the prophet David, a tall edifice built of stone, which, by measurement and calculation, I should say reached a height of 50 ells, and was 30 ells in the breadth. On its summit is a building like a cell, which is the Mihrâb mentioned by Allah—may He be exalted !—(in the words of the Kurân : ‘Hath the story of the two pleaders reached thee, when they mounted the walls of David’s Mihrâb ?’) When you come up to the Holy City from Ar Ramlâh this is the first building that catches the eye, and you see it above the other houses of the town. In the Noble Sanctuary, too, are many other venerated Mihrâbs dedicated to other of the celebrated prophets.” (Is., 56 ; I. H., 111.)

* See the plan of Jerusalem facing p. 83.

The Sion Gate (1) is the next south of the Hebron Gate, and is now known as Bâb an Nabî Dâûd (the Gate of the Prophet David). The Gate of Jericho (6) is that which the Christians, for the last five centuries, have called St. Stephen's Gate. The Gate of Jeremiah's Pit (4) can, from the position of the grotto (or pit), only be the small gate to the north, called at the present day Bâb as Sâhirah, and in old days known as Herod's Gate. The Gate of the Columns (7) is that more generally known as the Damascus Gate, though it still bears the older name. In the times of the Crusaders this was what was known as St. Stephen's Gate, a name in later times transferred to the Jericho Gate.

The remaining of Mukaddasi's gates can only be approximately identified. The Gate of the Desert of the Wanderings (2) is probably the "Secret Gate" mentioned by Mujîr ad Dîn as opening near the Armenian Convent between the Hebron and Sion Gates. The Siloam Gate (5) can hardly, from its name, be other than the southern gate, called the Bâb al Maghâribah (Gate of the Mogrebins, or Western Africans), which the Franks have named the Dung Gate. Bâb al Balât (the Gate of the Palace, or Court) (3) is, most probably, identical with Mujîr ad Dîn's Bâb ar Rahbah (the Gate of the Public Square), opening west in the city wall, and north of the Hebron Gate. In the *Citez de Jherusalem*, written about the year 1225, the gate which opened here is named the St. Lazarus Postern. Since Mujîr ad Dîn's days it has been built up.

Idrîsî, writing in 1154, notes the following city gates :

"Bâb al Mihrâb (Jaffa Gate) is on the western side ; and this is the gate over which is the Cupola of David (Kubbat Dâûd)—peace be upon him ! Bâb ar Rahmah (the Golden Gate) is on the eastern side of the city. It is closed, and is only opened at the Feast of Olive-branches (Palm Sunday). Bâb Sihyûn (the Sion Gate) is on the south of the city. Bâb 'Amûd al Ghurâb (the Gate of the Crow's Pillar—the Damascus Gate) lies to the north of the city." (Id., 5.)

The Damascus Gate was called "of the Pillar" on account of certain ancient columns that had been built into it ; but what the "Crow" may refer to is not known. Idrîsî is the only author to

mention this name. It will be noted that the Golden Gate, Bâb ar Rahmah (Gate of Mercy), is here mentioned as a city gate. During the time of the Crusaders there was apparently a right-of-way across the Haram Area from the Porta Speciosa (Bâb Dâûd, or Bâb as Silsilah) in the west wall of the Noble Sanctuary to the Golden Gate on the east. In Muslim times this was never allowed.

Writing in 1496, Mujir ad Dîn enumerates the following city gates, ten in number :

“On the south side are two gates : (1) Bâb Hârah al Maghâribah,” the Gate of the Mogribins’ Quarter—the Frankish Dung Gate. “(2) Bâb Sihyûn (of Sion), now known as the Bâb Hârah al Yahûd—that is, of the Jews’ Quarter.” The Jews’ Quarter in Crusading times was in the north-east part of the city. From Saladin’s time down to the present day it has been in the quarter mentioned by Mujir ad Dîn—to the south.

“On the west side are three gates : (3) The small Secret Gate near the Armenian Convent.” This is probably identical with Mukaddasi’s Gate of the Desert of the Wanderings. It is at present walled up. “(4) Bâb al Mihrâb, now called Bâb al Khalil,” the Gate of the Friend ; *i.e.*, Abraham—the Hebron or Jaffa Gate. “(5) Bâb ar Rahbah,” the Gate of the Public Square ; probably that mentioned by Mukaddasi as the Bâb al Balât, and identical with the St. Lazarus Postern. It is now closed.

“On the north side are four gates : (6) Bâb Dair as Sarb,” the Gate of the Servian Convent. The exact position of this is unknown, but it must have stood between the Rahbah Gate and the Damascus Gate. Mujir ad Dîn, speaking of the street called Khatt ad Dargâh, writes : “It has in it Saladin’s Bimaristan (or hospital), and the Church of the Kumâmah (of the Resurrection). On its west side is the Quarter of the Christians, which extends from south to north, from the Bâb al Khalil to the Bâb as Sarb, and includes the Hârah ar Rahbah, the Quarter of the Square.”

“(7) Bâb al ‘Amûd,” Gate of the Columns, the Damascus Gate, anciently the St. Stephen’s Gate. “(8) Bâb ad Dâ’iyah (Gate of the Conduit?), by which you enter the Quarter of the Bani Zaid.” This gate is no longer open, nor is its exact position

known, but it must have stood somewhat to the west of the so-called Herod's Gate. "(9) Bâb as Sâhirah," the Gate of the Plain—Herod's Gate.*

"On the east one gate : (10) Bâb al Asbât," Gate of the Tribes—the present St. Stephen's or Jericho Gate.

Mujîr ad Dîn adds : "Besides these ten gates, there was anciently a gate near the Zâwiyah (or Shrine), called after Ibn ash Shaikh 'Abd 'Allah, over against the citadel (Kala'ah). And again a gate in the quarter called Hârah at Tûriyyah, which led to the Maidân of the Slaves (Maidân al 'Abid), outside the Bâb al Asbât. 'This gate is now closed.' (M. a. D., 406.) Mujîr ad Dîn tells us "that the Hârah at Tûriyyah (the quarter of the inhabitants of Tûr, or Sinai) went from the Gate of the Tribes (Bâb al Asbât) up to the north wall of the city;" that is, it occupied all the north-east quarter of the city. But there is no such gate as that mentioned, open at the present day in the walls here.

The table on the next page shows the names of the City Gates at various epochs, beginning at the Jaffa Gate and going northward, and so round the walls back to the point of departure :

* No native authority (as far as I am aware) exists for spelling the name of this gate, *Bâb ez Zahary*, "The Flowery Gate," as Robinson (*Researches*, 2nd edit., i. 262), and many after him, have done. Neither is the name ever written *Bâb ez Zahriyé*, "Gate of Splendour," as has been set down in some of the *Memoirs* of the Palestine Exploration Fund. However the present inhabitants of Jerusalem may spell and pronounce the name of this small gate, which the Franks call "Herod's Gate," in old times it always was written *As Sâhirah*, that is, "of the Plain," *scilicet*, "of the Assembly of the Judgment Day," which stretches beyond the city wall north-east from this Gate. See p. 218.

| FRANK NAME. | MUKADDASI, 985. | IN THE
'CITEZ DE JERUSALEM,' 1225. | MUJËR AD DÏN, 1496,
AND AT THE PRESENT DAY. |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| Jaffa or Hebron Gate. | Bâb Mihrâb Dâûd.
Bâb al Balât. | David Gate.
St. Lazarus' Postern. | Bâb al Khalil.
Bâb ar Rahbah (closed).
Bâb Dair as Sarb (closed). |
| Damascus Gate. | Bâb al 'Amûd. | St. Stephen's Gate. | Bâb al 'Amûd. |
| Herod's Gate. | Bâb Jubb Armiyâ. | Madeleine Postern. | Bâb ad Dâ'iyyah (closed).
Bâb as Sâhrah. |
| Jericho or St. Stephen's Gate. | Bâb Arîhá. | Jehosaphat Gate. | Bâb Hârahât Tûriyyah (closed).
Bâb al Asbât. |
| Mogrebin, or Dung Gate.
Gate of the Prophet David,
or Sion Gate. | Bâb Silwân.
Bâb Sihyûn.

Bâb at Tih. | Postern of the Tannery.
Sion Gate. | Bâb Hârah al Magâribah.
Bâb Hârah al Yahûd. |
| | | | Bâb as Sirr, near the Armenian
Convent (closed).
Gate over against the Citadel,
near the Shrine of Ibn ash
Shaikh (closed). |

THE KEDRON VALLEY, OR THE WÂDÎ JAHANNUM, AND THE
PLAIN OF THE SÂHIRAH.

The valley called by the Jews Ge-Ben-Hinnon—that is, of Gehenna—was the deep gorge to the *west* and *south-west* of Jerusalem; the Muslims, however, in adopting the Jewish name, chose the gorge bounding the Holy City on the *east* as the valley which they called Wâdî Jahannum. This, in earlier days, had been known as the Valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat. In the Prophet Joel (iii. 2) the verse occurs: “I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for My people, and for My heritage Israel.” This had led the Jews to make the Valley of Jehoshaphat the scene of the Last Judgment, and the Muslims, in adopting the Hebrew tradition, and transferring it to their Wâdî Jahannum, had considerably amplified the story. According to these last, the Bridge As Sirât, dividing heaven and hell, is to stretch across this valley from the hill of the Haram Area to the Mount of Olives, while the Plain (As Sâhirah), on the northern part of the mount, is to be the gathering-place of all mankind on the Last Day. The name of As Sâhirah appears in later times to have been extended also to the plain on the city side, or west of the Kedron Valley, and therefore immediately to the north of Jerusalem, and from it one of the city gates, Bâb as Sâhirah, took its name, presumably at a period subsequent to Saladin’s reconquest of the Holy City. Describing all these localities in 985, Mukaddasi writes as follows:

“Jabal Zaitâ (the Mount of Olives) overlooks the Great Mosque from the eastern side of the Wâdî (Jahannum). On its summit is a mosque built in memory of ‘Omar, who sojourned here some days when he came to receive the capitulation of the Holy City. There is also a church built on the spot whence Christ ascended into heaven; and further, near by is the place called As Sâhirah (the Plain), which, as I have been informed on the authority of (the traditionist) Ibn ‘Abbâs, will be the scene of the resurrection. The ground is white, and blood has never been spilt here. Now, the Wâdî Jahannum runs from the south-east angle

of the Haram Area to the furthest (northern) point (of the city), and along the east side. In this valley there are gardens and vineyards, churches, caverns and cells of anchorites, tombs, and other remarkable spots, also cultivated fields. In its midst stands the church which covers the Sepulchre of Mary, and above, overlooking the valley, are many tombs, among which are those of (the Companions of the Prophet) Shaddâd ibn Aus ibn Thâbit and 'Ubâdah ibn as Sâmit." (Muk., 171, 172.)

Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who visited Jerusalem in 1047, is the first Muslim writer to speak of the curious edifice in the Kedron Valley, generally known as the Tomb of Absalom, which at the present day the Muslims speak of as Tantûrah Fira'un, or Pharaoh's Cap. Nasîr writes :

"The Aksâ Mosque lies at the (south) east quarter of the city, whereby the eastern city wall forms also the wall of the Haram Area. When you have passed out of the Noble Sanctuary, there lies before you a great level plain, called the Sâhirah, which, it is said, will be the place of the resurrection, where all mankind shall be gathered together. For this reason men from all parts of the world come hither, and make their sojourn in the Holy City till death overtakes them, in order that when the day fixed by God—be He praised and exalted!—shall arrive, they may thus lie in their tombs ready and present at the appointed place. At the border of this Plain (of the Sâhirah) there is a great cemetery, where are many places of pious renown, whither men come to pray and offer up petitions in their need. Lying between the mosque and this plain of the Sâhirah is a great steep valley, and down in this valley, which is like unto a fosse, are many edifices, built after the fashion of ancient days. I saw here a dome cut out in the stone, and it is set upon the summit of a building. Nothing can be more curious than it is, and one asks how it came to be placed in its present position. In the mouths of the common people it goes by the appellation of Pharaoh's House. The valley of which we are speaking is the Wâdi Jahannum. I inquired how this name came to be applied to the place, and they told me that in the times of the Khalif 'Omar—may Allah receive him in grace!—the camp (of the Muslims, who

had come up to besiege Jerusalem) was pitched here on the plain called the Sâhirah, and that when 'Omar looked down and saw this valley, he exclaimed: 'Verily this is the Valley of Jahannum.' The common people state that when you stand at the brink of the valley you may hear the cries of those in hell, which come up from below. I myself went there to listen, but heard nothing." (N. Kh., 24-26.)

Yâkût (in 1225) speaks of the plain called As Sâhirah, at Jerusalem, as the scene of the Resurrection and Last Judgment, but gives no identification of its position. (Yâk., iii. 25; Mar., ii. 6.)

Mujîr ad Din, in 1496, is the first to apply this name to the plain immediately to the north of Jerusalem and west of the Kedron Valley; he, too, is the first to speak of the Bâb as Sâhirah, in the city wall of the northern quarter. He writes of the plain:

"As Sâhirah (of old) was the plain which lies to the (north) west of the Mount of Olives, not far from the Khalif 'Omar's Place of Prayer. At the present day, however, the Plain of As Sâhirah is that which lies outside the Holy City immediately to the north. There is here the burial-ground where the Muslims (of all lands) bury their dead, and it occupies a high position on the hillside, being called the Cemetery (Makbarah) of As Sâhirah." (M. a. D., 412.)

The Pool of Siloam and the Well of Job.—In the lower part of the Kedron Valley are found the 'Ain Sulwân (the Spring of Siloam) and the Bir Ayyûb (the Well of Job). Despite its Arab name of 'Ain, the Pool of Siloam is not, properly speaking, a spring, but merely a tank fed by the aqueduct from the Virgin's Fount (called 'Ain Umm ad Daraj—the Fountain of the Steps), and having an intermittent supply consequent on the intermittent flow of the upper spring. It was on the wall of the tunnel connecting the Pool of Siloam with the Virgin's Fount that, in 1880, the now celebrated Siloam inscription was accidentally discovered by a party of Jewish schoolboys.

The Bir Ayyûb, or Job's Well, which the Christians, since the sixteenth century, have been in the habit of calling the Well of

Nehemiah, is probably En Rogel —the Fuller's Spring —mentioned, in the Book of Joshua (xv. 7), as standing on the boundary-line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

Of these two fountains of water, Mukaddasi, in 985, speaks as follows: "The village of Sulwân is a place on the outskirts of the city. Below the village is the 'Ain Sulwân (Spring of Siloam), of fairly good water, which irrigates the large gardens which were given in bequest (*Wakf*) by the Khalif 'Othman ibn 'Affân for the poor of the city. Lower down than this, again, is Job's Well (Bir Ayyûb). It is said that on the Night of 'Arafat the water of the holy well Zamzam, at Makkah, comes underground to the water of the Spring (of Siloam). The people hold a festival here on that evening." (Muk., 171.)

Nâsir-i-Khusrau, in 1047, has the following entry in his Diary: "Going southward of the city for half a league, and down the gorge (of the Wâdî Jahannum), you come to a fountain of water gushing out from the rock, which they call the 'Ain Sulwân (the Spring of Siloam). There are all round the spring numerous buildings; and the water therefrom flows on down to a village, where there are many houses and gardens. It is said that when anyone washes from head to foot in this water he obtains relief from his pains, and will even recover from chronic maladies. There are at this spring many buildings for charitable purposes, richly endowed; and the Holy City itself possesses an excellent Bîmâristân (or hospital), which is provided for by considerable sums that were given for this purpose. Great numbers of (sick) people are here served with potions and lotions; for there are physicians who receive a fixed stipend, and attend at the Bîmâristân." (N. Kh., 26.)

'Ali of Herat, in 1173, writes of the 'Ain Sulwân that "its waters are like those of the Well Zamzam (at Makkah). They flow from under the Dome of the Rock, and appear in the Wâdî (Jahannum) which is beside the city." (A. H., Oxf. MS., f. 39, v.)

Yâkût, writing in 1225, quotes Mukaddasi's account already given, and adds that in his day there was a considerable suburb of the city at Sulwân and gardens. (Yâk., iii. 125, 761.) The

author of the *Marâsid*, who wrote about the year 1300, states that at his date the gardens had all disappeared, that the water of Sulwân was no longer sweet, and that the buildings were all in ruin. (Mar., ii. 296.)

Of the Well of Job, Suyûti quotes a curious account taken from an older author. He writes: "The author of the *Kitâb al Uns* gives the following account of the well, which goes by the name of the prophet Job. He says: I have read a paper in the handwriting of my cousin, Abu Muhammad al Kâsim—who gave me permission to make use thereof—which states that he read in a certain book of history how once the water ran scarce among the people of the Holy City, and in their need they went to a well in the neighbourhood, which they descended to a depth of 80 ells. At its mouth the well was 10 or more ells, by 4 ells across; and its sides were lined with masonry of large stones, some of which might measure even 5 ells, but most of those in the depth of the well were 1 or 2 ells only in length. A wonder was it how these stones had been set in their places. The water of the well was cold and wholesome to drink, and the people used thereof during all that year, getting it at a depth of 80 ells. When the winter came, the water rose more abundantly in the well, till it overflowed the brink, and ran over the ground in the bed of the Wâdî, and turned mills for grinding flour. Now once (says Abu Muhammad), when there was scarcity of this water, and of that, too, in the 'Ain Sulwân, I descended with some workmen to the bottom of the well to dig there, and I saw the water flowing out from under a rock, the breadth of which was 2 ells, by the like in height; and there was a cavern, the entrance of which was 3 ells high, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ells across. From this cavern there rushed out an extremely cold wind, which nearly made the lights go out; and I perceived that the roof of the cavern was lined with masonry. On entering a short distance within the cavern, the torches could not be kept alight, by reason of the force of the wind which blew therefrom. This well is in the bed of the Wâdî, and the cave is in its bed, too; and above and all around are high steep hills, which a man cannot climb, except with much fatigue. This, also, is the well of which Allah spake to His prophet Job (in the Kurân,

xxxviii. 41), saying, '*Stamp,*' said we, '*with thy foot. This (fountain) is to wash with; cool and to drink.*' And so the account of Abu Muhammad al Kâsim ends." (S., 273.)

The overflowing of the waters of Job's Well is a matter of almost yearly occurrence, as is here stated, and possibly there may be some underground channel connecting it with a reservoir of water in the upper part of the Gorge of the Kedron.

The Cavern of Korah.—Among the marvels of Jerusalem, Mukaddasi mentions a great cavern which in his day was apparently connected in the popular tradition with the history of Korah and his companions in rebellion, of whom mention occurs in the Kurân (xxviii. 76-81) under the name of Kârun. Mukaddasi writes :

"There is at Jerusalem, without the city, a huge cavern. According to what I have heard from learned men, and also have read in books, an entrance here leads into the place where lie the people slain by Moses. But there is no surety in this; for apparently it is but a stone quarry with passages leading therefrom, along which one may go with torches." (Muk., 185.)